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A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE NETHERLANDS

TO BE COMPLETED IN THREE OR FOUR PARTS. 8°.

PART I. **From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the 15th Century.** Translated by OSCAR BIERSTADT and RUTH PUTNAM $2.50

PART II. **The Gradual Centralization of Power, and the Burgundian Period.** Translated by RUTH PUTNAM $2.50

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE NETHERLANDS

BY

PETRUS JOHANNES BLOK

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PART II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY TO 1559

TRANSLATED BY RUTH PUTNAM

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

PART II. of the English version of the *History of the People of the Netherlands* is somewhat briefer than the second volume of the original, as six chapters of the latter were included in Part I. In the present volume is told the story of the gradual expansion of the Burgundian sovereignty and of the establishment of the central government with its new system.

In this volume, as in Part I., social and economic conditions are treated with greater fulness than are historic events, but the political story has been less condensed than the account of the earlier periods. As, however, the dynastic conditions are complicated and difficult to understand without a detailed consideration impossible in this work, a genealogical table is added to the translation in order to present a clearer view of the situation to English readers. This is based upon the *Genealogical Tables* of Hereford B. George, with certain changes and additions taken from the *Manuel d'Histoire* of A. M. H. J. Stokvis of later date (Leyden, 1895).

The author has appoved all changes from the original.

R. P.

NEW YORK, September, 1899.

PREFACE

THE second part of the work which I now offer to those interested in the history of the people of the Netherlands has grown to larger proportions than I had at first planned. The reason for this considerable increase in compass was that it seemed to me more and more desirable to give a complete exposition, first, of the reasons which contributed to the rapid rise of Burgundian power in the Netherlands, and, secondly, of the organisation of the Burgundian monarchy itself in the days of Charles V. and Philip II. As regards the first, an exhaustive description of the history of the absorption of the little feudal states by the steadily waxing Burgundian monarchy can, more than anything else, contribute to a just valuation of the great significance of this change for the history of the Netherland people. It was a good fortune for the inhabitants of the inherited or annexed regions, as can be proven again and again from the events; the union under the house of Burgundy restored the connection between the provinces which had existed previously through the establishment of the duchy of Lower Lorraine, and those who wrought the union were well aware of this effort to reach back to the days of that duchy. In the second place, the whole social organisation of the Netherlands in the Burgundian period was so important for the times of the republic which arose from the Burgundian realm, that a careful consideration seems essential for a better understanding of the matter of the following volumes.

This part, too, offered peculiar difficulties in the way of a well-ordered, connected narrative. The writer had no longer to contend with an almost complete lack or at least great imperfection of data, as was the case in various chapters of Part I. We have no cause of complaint for the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, especially not in the last part. The great difficulty lay in the many points both of likeness and of difference in political and social matters in the Netherland provinces of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The writer deemed that the best method of overcoming the difficulty was to give the political history of the various states separately, as far as possible; to keep in mind their exact mutual relation by referring, in the accounts of common wars and feuds, to what had been previously said; and to discuss social conditions in the various provinces occasionally, when they came to the fore, as, for example, the guilds in Flanders, the Vehmgericht in Utrecht, the position of the feudal nobles in Hainaut.

An important place must be given to the political history of this tumultuous time, more prominent than may be deemed desirable by many in a history of the *people* of the Netherlands; war, feud, and disputed succession were, in those centuries, all in the order of the day and controlled social development then as well as in the centuries immediately preceding. Therefore, consideration is devoted to the critical periods which had real influence on the condition of the people.

Greater unity is possible for the chapters treating of the Burgundian period proper. Here therefore, for the first time, general political history is first treated in its general characteristics, while another chapter is devoted to the annexations of Guelders, Utrecht, and Friesland, events of great importance for a history of the *Netherland* (that is, here, the *North Netherland*) *People*. Then a brief space is dedicated to Liege,—the single Nether-

land province not incorporated into Burgundy,—and afterwards the social disturbances in the growing Burgundian state are described. Thus the narrative is brought down to the departure of Philip II. for Spain, when the prelude to the Eighty Years' War begins.

Thus the second volume of my book goes out into the world. May it meet the same kind reception as the first.

P. J. BLOK.

GRONINGEN, September, 1893.

TABLE OF THE SOVEREIGN HOUSES OF FLANDERS, HOLLAND, BRABANT, ETC.
858–1555.

EARLY COUNTS OF HOLLAND.

Dirk I, c. 922–939.
Dirk II, 942–988.
Arnulf, 988–993.
Dirk III, 993–1039.
Dirk IV, 1039–1049.
Floris I, 1049–1061.
[Robert the Frisian, 1063–1071. Godfrey of Lower Lorraine, 1071–1076.]
Dirk V, [1061] 1076–1091.
Floris II, 1091–1122.
Dirk VI, 1122–1157.
Floris III, 1157–1190.
[See Holland.]

Flanders.

BALDWIN I, 858–879. = (2) Judith, dau. of Charles the Bald.
BALDWIN II, 879–918. = Ælfthryth, dau. of Alfred of England.
Adela, dau. of Heribert II of Vermandois. = ARNULF I, 918–965. Adelulf, C. of Boulogne.
Baldwin III, ob. 962.
ARNULF II, 965–988.
BALDWIN IV, 988–1036.
BALDWIN V, 1036–1067. = (2) Adela, dau. of Robert of France.
Judith (1) = Tostig. (2) = Welf II of Bavaria.
Heiress of Hainaut = BALDWIN VI, 1067–1070, I of Hainaut.
ROBERT I, the Frisian, 1072–1092. = Gertrude, dau. of Bernard II, D. of Saxony.
Matilda = William the Conqueror.
Robert = Sibylla of Conversana.

Hainaut.

2. BALDWIN II, 1070–1099.
1. ARNULF III, 1070–1072.
BALDWIN III, 1099–1120.

Namur.

Godfrey I = Ida. of Brabant.
GODFREY, 1105–1139.
HENRY [a] the Blind, 1139–1196.
Alice = BALDWIN IV, 1120–1171.

Luxemburg.

ERMESINDE, = Theobald, C. of Bar. ob. 1247.
BALDWIN V, 1171–1195, = Margaret, ob. 1194.
PHILIP, 1168–1191, ob. s. p. = Isabella of Vermandois.
Mary, dau. of Stephen of England. = Matthew, ob. 1173.

Artois.

Holland.

HENRY III, 1247–1281
HENRY IV, 1281–1288.
HENRY V, 1288–1313. (Emp. Henry VII. *see opp.*)
Floris III, = Ada, granddau. of 1157–1190. David I of Scotland.
Dirk VII, 1190–1203.
WILLIAM I, 1203–1222.
Ferdinand of Portugal = (1) JOANNA, Thomas II, C. of = (2) 1205–1244, Maurienne. ob. s. p.
FLORENCE IV, 1222–1234.
WILLIAM II, 1234–1256. Anti-Emperor to Frederick II, 1247.
FLORENCE V, 1256–1296.
JOHN, 1296–1299, = Elizabeth, dau. of ob. s. p. Edward I of England.
WILLIAM IV, 1337–1345, ob. s. p.
Margaret, = (2) Emp. Lewis of 1345–1356. Bavaria,
Edward III of = Philippa. England.
WILLIAM V, 1337–1354, ob. s. p.
ALBERT, 1357–1404. ruward, 1357. Count, 1389–1404.
Margaret = John without Fear.
WILLIAM VI, 1404–1417, = Margaret.

2. BALDWIN IX, = Mary, dau. of Henry I., Eastern Emp., 1195–1205. C. of Champagne.
3. Henry, Eastern Emp., ob. s. p. 1216.
Burchard of Avesnes. = (1) MARGARET, 1244–1280. (2) = William of Dampierre.

Hainaut.

Adelaide = John I, 1246–1257.
JOHN II, 1257–1304. Holland 1299.
WILLIAM III, = Jeanne, sister of 1304–1337. Philip VI of France.

Flanders.

GUY, ob. 1304.
ROBERT III, 1305–1322.
John, ob. 1331.
LOUIS I, ob. 1322.
LOUIS II, 1322–1346, = MARGARET, ob. 1382. Killed at Crecy.
LOUIS III [c] de Male, 1346–1383. = 2. MARGARET, ob. 1368.
[b] Philip the Bold, D. of = MARGARET, ob. 1405. Burgundy.

Namur.

JACQUELINE [e] (1) = John, son of Charles VI of France.
b. 1401–. ob. s. p., 1436. (2) = John IV of Brabant.
countess, 1417. (3) = Humphrey, D. of Gloucester.
abdicated, 1433. (4) = Francis of Borselen.

JOHN without Fear, = Margaret, dau. of Albert 1404–1419. of Holland.
PHILIP the Good, = Isabella of Portugal. 1419–1467.
[d] CHARLES the Bold, = (1) Catherine, dau. of Charles VII of France. 1467–1477. = (2) Isabella. = (4) Margaret, sister of Edward IV of England.
MARY, = Maximilian of Austria. 1477–1482
PHILIP the Fair, = Joanna, heiress of Spain. 1482–1506.
John, son of Ferdinand (1) = Margaret. and Isabella. ob. s. p. 1530
Philibert II of Savoy (2)

Eleanor.
CHARLES V, = Isabella 1506–1555, of Portugal. ob. 1558.
Isabella = Christian II of Denmark.
Ferdinand I, Emperor 1556–1564.
Mary.
Catherine.
PHILIP II of Spain. 1555.
Johanna.
Mary.
Margaret = (1) Alessandro de' Medici. = (2) Ottavio Farnese, D. of Parma.
Don John
Alexander = Mary of Portugal. D. of Parma.

Artois.

1. ISABELLA = Philip Augustus of France.
4. Iolande = Peter of Courtenay.
LOUIS VIII.
Louis IX.
Philip III.
Philip IV.
Philip V = JOANNA, ob. 1330.
LOUIS II, 1322–1346, = MARGARET, ob. 1382. Killed at Crecy.

Antwerp.

LOUIS III [c] de Male, 1346–1383. = 2. MARGARET, ob. 1368.
[b] Philip the Bold, D. of = MARGARET, ob. 1405. Burgundy.

Brabant.

ROBERT I, killed at Mansourah, 1250. = Matilda,
Henry III of = (1) Blanche. Champagne. Edmund, E. of = (2) Lancaster.
Otto IV, C. of Burgundy. = MATILDA, ob. 1329.
Philip killed at Furnes, 1298.
Robert [g], ob. 1343.
ROBERT II, 1250–1302, killed at Courtrai.
JOHN I. 1260–1294.
Mary = (2) Philip III of France.
JOHN II, 1294–1312. = Margaret, dau. of Edward I of England.
JOHN III, 1312–1355.
1. JOANNA, = WENZEL, 1355–1404, res., 1354–1383. ob. s. p. 1406.
Joanna, dau. of C. of St. Pol. = (1) ANTONY, 1405–1415, killed at Agincourt. (2) = ELIZABETH [d], ob. s. p. 1451.
JOHN IV, 1415–1427, = Jacqueline of Holland. ob. s. p. (Also called of Bavaria.)
PHILIP [f], 1427–1430. ob. s. p.

HENRY [I], 1190–1235.
HENRY II, (1) = Mary, dau. of Emp. Philip. 1235–1248. (2) = Sophia, dau. of Lewis, L. of Thuringia.
Mary = (2) Emp. Otto IV.
(1) HENRY III, 1248–1260. = Alice, dau. of Hugh IV, D. of Burgundy.
(1) Beatrix = Henry Raspe.
(2) Henry, 1st L. of Hesse.
Margaret = Emp. HENRY VII.
JOHN, K. of Bohemia.
Emp. Charles IV.
JOHN, ob. 1396.

Brabant.

GODFREY I, ob. 1140. = Ida, dau. of Albert III. M. of Namur.
Henry I (2) = (1) Adeliza. of England. William de = (2) Albini.
GODFREY II, 1140–1143.
GODFREY III, 1143–1190.

Luxemburg.

WILLIAM, C. of Flanders, ob. 1128.
CHARLES, 1119–1127. ob. s. p.
DIETRICH, 1128–1168. = Sibylla, dau. of Fulk of Anjou, K. of Jerusalem.
Gertrude = Dietrich of Alsace.
Roger, D. = (2) Adela (1) = Cnut of Denmark, of Apulia. ob. 1088.
ROBERT II, 1093–1111. = Clementia, dau. of William I, C. of Burgundy.
BALDWIN VII, 1111–1119. ob. s. p.

[a] Inherited Luxemburg from his mother's family.
[b] Namur was sold to Philip the Good, D. of Burgundy, in 1421.
[c] Expelled from Flanders by Artevelde.
[d] Sold Luxemburg, 1443, to Philip the Good.
[e] Surrendered her territories to Philip the Good, 1433.
[f] On his death Philip the Good got Brabant.
[g] Unsuccessful claimant of Artois against his aunt.
[h] This marriage reunited county and duchy of Burgundy. Separated 1361.
[i] On his death, the duchy of Burgundy reverted to the French crown; the county, etc., formed the inheritance of Mary.

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HISTORY OF THE DUTCH PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE TRANSFERENCE OF HOLLAND, ZEALAND, AND HAINAUT TO BURGUNDY

WILLIAM VI., the last male representative of the house of Hainaut, died in 1417, leaving his seventeen-year-old daughter Jacqueline as sole heir to the three countships of Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut.

Up to this date Burgundian sovereignty over the Netherlands had been confined to the southern portion, but the alliance between the family ruling in the northern provinces and the house of Burgundy in 1385 [1] proved to be the first step on the way towards the extension of that dominion to Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut. William VI. left no male relations except his brother John and his cousins in the ducal family of Bavaria. John was ineligible to the sovereignty, as he had entered the Church and was already bishop-elect of Liege. Thus the Burgundian family was brought very near the succession. After Jacqueline, they were the legitimate heirs to the countships of the three provinces.

John without Fear, the then duke of Burgundy, did not, for the moment, desire to rob the daughter of his

[1] See Part I., p. 286.

faithful ally of her heritage, but the question of her marriage was a matter of keen interest to him. William VI. had favoured Burgundy as against England and France, and for Burgundy it was important that his successor in power should not manifest an independence.

Jacqueline's alliance with France had come to naught. John of Touraine, her young husband, had become dauphin only to follow his brother in premature death. The choice of her second husband was of great moment for the future of the Netherland provinces in general. Her story is thus important in this narrative, as the Burgundian family became masters in Holland and Zealand as a result of events in her life, and the foundation was laid for their acquisition of the remaining North Netherland provinces.

Jacqueline was destined to play a romantic part in history. Poets have sung her fate, and even dry chronicles wax eloquent when she is their theme. The barren twigs of records begin to bear blossoms when her sorrows, her proud resistance, are recorded. Her story is romantic, but none the less full of interest to students of social conditions. Duchess Jacqueline of Bavaria was not only the last independent countess of Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut, she was also one of the last representatives of the chivalry of the fourteenth century, and the last true offspring of the heroic houses of Avesnes and Bavaria. Her history is that of the struggle against Burgundian authority, and, furthermore, of the struggle between the nobles on the brink of destruction and the cities of Holland and Zealand waxing in strength.

Jacqueline of Holland was no tender, shrinking dame. She was a tall, well formed, active woman, brought up in an isolated castle in Hainaut, hardened by hunting and feats at arms, skilled in minnesong and tourneys, besides being at home in the English and French tongues. She was quite capable of leading troops, conducting sieges,

and making plans of policy as well as the most skilled knight, the most experienced diplomate, in her train. And she won many hearts by her courageous bearing. She was a woman in armour, the worthy granddaughter of the valiant Empress Margaret, the worthy kinswoman of her famous great-aunt, Philippa of Hainaut, queen of England, the worthy daughter of her proud mother, Margaret of Burgundy, and of her chivalrous father. And she had need of all these qualities, for she was confronted by great difficulties at the very instant of her accession.

As soon as the news of the duke's death reached Holland, the banished Egmonts hastened to try to regain the castle of Ysselstein, but they were speedily repulsed by the friends of the young duchess, aided by Utrecht and by John of Bavaria, bishop-elect, who was anxious to assume charge of his niece's affairs and to be virtual ruler of her possessions. John without Fear, of Burgundy, however, had no intention of allowing the rôle of protector to be played by anyone but himself.

Jacqueline received homage in Hainaut, and then made a progress through Holland and Zealand, joyously welcomed in city and province. She swore to maintain the rights and privileges of her subjects, and visited all the places in the country where justice was administered, receiving homage from nobles and peasants in the country as well as from the burghers within the towns. A brilliant train of nobles formed her bodyguard. There were the bastards of her father and of her grandfather, Adrian of Bavaria, schout of the city of Dordrecht, William, lord of Schagen, Lord Everhard of Hoogwoude, Lord Louis of Flushing; further there was the bastard of Blois, Lord John of Treslong, castellan of Gouda; there were the Wassenaars, Haemstedes, Brederodes, Poelgeests, Boekhorsts, Merwedes, Montfoorts, Vianens, Borselens, and a hundred other members of well-known Hook families. Thus Jacqueline was acknowledged as countess,

but her course was not yet plain sailing. A sovereign reigned in Germany worthy of the imperial title, Sigismund, the last from the house of Luxemburg (1410–1437). He had long wished to strengthen his own power and check Burgundian influence in the Netherlands, and this period of party confusion and of female sovereignty seemed a fitting time to push imperial claims. Sigismund had refused to promise to Duke William any future recognition of Jacqueline's rights. He now showed a disposition to further the pretensions of John of Bavaria against his niece.

Meanwhile John IV. of Brabant was offered as husband for Jacqueline. The objection of their consanguinity was overcome by a special dispensation from Pope Martin V. (December 22, 1417), given at the instance of Burgundy, and to the annoyance of the emperor and of John of Bavaria. Martin desired Burgundian support, but he did not dare forfeit Sigismund's. Imperial friendship seemed the more important, and the dispensation was withdrawn, the bull and the news of its withdrawal reaching Brussels almost simultaneously. The only result was that the Brabanters hastened on the nuptials, and the marriage was solemnised on March 10, 1418, at the Hague. In the very midst of the festivities, official letters arrived from pope and emperor refusing consent to the cousins' union. It was too late. They were married.

The war between parties, with uncle and niece on opposite sides, became more and more bitter. John of Bavaria, with the Cods, tried now to win over one city after another. On June 20th a proclamation was issued offering the cities free right of assembly, and giving liberty of mintage to Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, and Leyden, with especial privileges to the first named. The chief importance of the proclamation lay in the first article. The cities were to be at liberty to meet freely to discuss public matters. This measure had gradually

taken root under William IV., Albert, and William VI. The continuous poverty of the last two princes had made them dependent on the rich burghers, to whom they had to look for aid to maintain their luxurious courts, to carry on their costly wars. They had relinquished municipal governments to their burghers, nay, more, they had even admitted the burghers to a share in national affairs. Without these concessions the purse strings were not unloosed, mercenaries could not be paid. The result was that, gradually, this temporary condition was claimed as regular, gradually the cities were permitted to have a voice even in legal affairs.

The opposing parties met in the neighbourhood of Dordrecht, which had accepted the bishop and was his headquarters. For five weeks Jacqueline, with a strong party of Hooks from Holland and Zealand, added to the Brabanters and nobles from Hainaut, held her ground. At the end she was forced to acknowledge a defeat. Rotterdam fell into her uncle's hands, and her cause seemed lost. Philip, son of the duke of Burgundy, now came forward as mediator, and an accommodation was effected between uncle and niece (February 13, 1419). John of Bavaria was to receive, in addition to what he already held as appanage, Dordrecht with South Holland, Rotterdam, Gorkum, and Leerdam, in addition to the Arkel territories and the region between Lek, Linge, and Merwede. For five years he was to rule jointly with John of Brabant over Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut. In case of Jacqueline's death without children, he was to be her heir. A large sum of money was to be paid to him within two years. The Egmonts were to be treated as agreed upon with Duke Philip, and the other outlaws were to be permitted to return. Old Arkel alone remained imprisoned in the castle of Zevenbergen, while all other prisoners on both sides were to be liberated without ransom.

This was the high tide of Cod prosperity. The Cod nobles were in the ascendency, and their Hook rivals were forced to flee the land. The court maintained by John was brilliant and polished. Like all the Bavarian family, he was interested in literature and the fine arts. *Der Minnen Loep* of Dirk Potter was written at this time, and shows plain traces of Bavarian influence. Moreover, John renounced his rank as bishop-elect and married Elizabeth of Luxemburg. Thus he ruled her duchy, Holland and Zealand as ruward and, very powerful in Hainaut and Brabant through his relationship with the young sovereign, was an influential prince in the Netherlands. But he was not satisfied. His ambition was to regain the old influence of his ancestors in Utrecht and Friesland and to rule Holland and Zealand in his own person, not as ruward. In a very brief space of time, therefore, he began to take measures to increase his power. He actually succeeded in persuading the weak John of Brabant to mortgage Holland, Zealand, and Friesland to him for twelve years. It was stipulated that if Jacqueline did not approve of this alienation of her paternal heritage, the Bavarian should only remain in possession until he received full payment of the sum pledged to him in the treaty of 1419. Jacqueline, naturally, did not at all approve, and straightway prepared to defend her rights by force of arms. It was the culmination of the ill-treatment that she had received at the hands of her husband. She had been insulted by his favourites, and deprived of her own faithful attendants. After the last outrage the injured countess felt fully justified in leaving her wretched husband. Accompanied by her mother, she fled to Hainaut, and refused to return to Brussels even when a party in Brabant declared for her as against the duke's favourites. A revolt broke out in the duchy. Hatred for the duke was widely manifested, and finally the count of St. Pol, John's brother, was invited to

come from Paris and assume the ruwardship, thus practically deposing the duke, who had been forced to take refuge in Bois-le-Duc (October, 1420). But after a time John succeeded in again becoming master.

Jacqueline had not waited to see his victory, but had fled to England and there sought protection in the court of Henry V. She took a further step now. She declared that her marriage to John of Brabant had never been legal, and that she was free to marry Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. This project was highly displeasing to the duke of Burgundy as well as to the Johns of Bavaria and of Brabant. Philip had hoped to reap advantage from the childless union of his cousins, and did not like the entrance of a new strong personality upon the scene. Humphrey was a power in himself, and, moreover, had England behind him.

There was a grand diplomatic discussion over the legality of the new marriage. The pope was afraid to thwart the wishes of Burgundy. There was much backing and filling, and finally the pair dispensed with a dispensation and were married in the autumn of 1422. The sudden death of Henry V. in the previous August had made Humphrey regent of England in behalf of his infant nephew, and thus placed him in a position to work his own will. Discussions regarding the legitimacy of the marriage went on for two years, when it was decided to settle the question by the chances of war. In October, 1424, Jacqueline and Humphrey set sail together for Calais with an army of six thousand archers, and reached Hainaut in mid-November, where they were joyously received by the Hainauters and by the Hook refugees. Humphrey was honoured as count of Hainaut and guardian of Jacqueline in the two northern provinces; he drove the Brabanters and the French from the countship and prepared to cross Brabant into Holland.

Meantime John of Bavaria had calmly continued his

government and administered it fairly to the satisfaction of his subjects. There was great suffering caused by a terrific flood in 1421, but in the administration order was comparatively well maintained. The government was, to be sure, wholly in the hands of the Cods, and the Hooks were unhappy and discontented. They longed for the return of the young duchess, and hoped fervently for a chance to drive their hated rivals from the land. John of Bavaria was finally conquered, but not in fair fight. John van Vliet, who had married a natural sister of Jacqueline, succeeded in administering slow poison (bought from an unknown English merchant) to the Bavarian by spreading it on the leaves of a prayer-book. The deed was discovered, Van Vliet confessed his guilt, and paid the penalty of the crime on the scaffold. His victim survived by some months, but finally succumbed on January 6, 1425.

On his death-bed, the duke appointed the Cod noble, William of Egmont, as his stadtholder, who lost no time in calling John of Brabant to Holland. The chief cities offered him homage, and the luckless Jacqueline was passed by. She succeeded in gaining Schoonhoven, but it availed little. A guerrilla warfare was waged intermittently, but her cause made no progress. Nor did she even long enjoy the support and protection of her English husband. In April, 1425, Humphrey left Jacqueline and her heritage to their fate and returned to England, consoling himself with the companionship of an English love, Eleanor Cobham. Jacqueline was thus again thrown on her own resources, her valiant mother being her only ally, and she was forced to submit to the terms of a treaty made between her quondam husband and Philip of Burgundy, by whose aid alone the weakling duke had held his ground. Until the pope gave a final decision, Jacqueline was to remain in Philip's territory. John was reëstablished as count of Hainaut, and immedi-

ately appointed a Burgundian colonel as stadtholder. Burgundy was making steady progress, and there was no one to stay the spread of her domination.

Jacqueline wrote a despairing and affectionate letter to her English husband, whom she loved only too well, calling herself the most unfortunate, most shamefully betrayed woman upon the earth. Her plaints availed nothing. She was forced to submit to Philip, and was taken to Ghent under the escort of the prince of Orange and other distinguished persons from the duke's retinue. The Hook cities attempted in vain to rescue her from her Burgundian protectors, and she remained a prisoner in the castle of Ghent. A few months later (July 25, 1425), John of Brabant mortgaged the government of Holland and Zealand to the Burgundian as he had done once before to the Bavarian. Philip left his headquarters at Sluis, visited the two provinces, and received homage as ruward and heir in virtue of the bequest of John of Bavaria. The cities of Holland and Zealand were willing to accept the powerful protectorate of Burgundy for the sake of having their rivals, the Hanse, held in check, but Jacqueline's adherents still cherished hope while the question of the legality of her marriage was pending at Rome. English sympathisers talked of the duchess of Gloucester even though Humphrey paid little attention to her and continued his devotions to Eleanor Cobham.

Suddenly it was rumoured that Jacqueline had escaped and fled to Gouda disguised in men's clothes. The rumour was true. Her flight was the romantic beginning of a three years' life of adventure, during which the injured princess and deserted wife fought like a very hero for her heritage against the powerful duke of Burgundy and her quondam husband, John of Brabant. It was an unequal combat, and only wonderful because it lasted as long as it did, for Jacqueline was forced to rely entirely upon the Hook party and some intermittent aid from England.

On October 21, 1425, she succeeded, however, in winning a brilliant victory at Alfen, where she commanded her own army against Philip's skilled leaders, John of Luxemburg, John of Villers, lord of L'Isle Adam, and others. This victory roused Humphrey's languid interest in his wife's cause, and he sent her a fleet, which was totally destroyed off Brouwershaven on January 13, 1426, an event which led Zealand to throw herself into Burgundy's arms. About this time the pope declared that Jacqueline's marriage with John of Brabant was legal, and thus again her chances fell in the balance. There were a few moments when prospects brightened temporarily, but no ground was really gained, and meanwhile poor Holland suffered greatly from the depredations of the ill-paid bands. Gradually Jacqueline lost credit in North Holland, but her party gained in the Sticht, and during the winter of 1426–27 she held possession of all the strongest places there. In the spring, Philip of Burgundy collected his troops again and left no stone unturned to attain his end. The widow of John of Bavaria transferred her rights to him, he circumvented the plots of Jacqueline's mother in Hainaut, and his progress toward domination was steady. Suddenly, on April 14, 1427, John of Brabant died at Vilvoorden, leaving as successor the insignificant count of St. Pol—a ready tool in Philip's hands.

Immediately Philip demanded and received homage as ruward in behalf of Jacqueline and as heir of Holland and Zealand in accordance with John's bequest. Later he was acknowledged as *mambour* in Hainaut, until Jacqueline should renounce her claims to her marriage with Humphrey. After some protest the Hainauters accepted his sovereignty.

John's death caused Jacqueline to turn longingly to Humphrey. His affections were, however, held by Eleanor Cobham, and the policy of England, ruled

by him as regent in behalf of his nephew, forbade a quarrel with Burgundy. Humphrey sent an embassy to Philip, which stopped at Gouda to greet Jacqueline and advise her to make peace with the duke. She sent thanks to the young sovereign of England for his kind remembrance of her, and bitterly regretted that she had ever allowed herself to be lured to England by vain promises. Neither irony nor reproach nor complaints helped. Burgundy and England were alike unheeding. Matters dragged on. Some wave of feeling or policy did finally induce Humphrey to prepare a third expedition to relieve Jacqueline, but it came to nothing, and a truce with Burgundy resulted. Jacqueline was again sacrificed to policy, and her fate in Holland was sealed.

The guerrilla warfare dragged on, but Burgundy finally gained a signal triumph. Various informal utterances had come from the curia, and now the pope gave a formal decision that Jacqueline's marriage to Humphrey was wholly illegal (January 9, 1428).

Jacqueline struggled on for a time, hoping against hope, trusting in English popular feeling, in an appeal to Rome, in good fortune on the field, in help from other quarters.

Philip finally decided to cut matters short by attacking Jacqueline in her fortress. With the news of his intention came other tidings to the poor countess. Humphrey celebrated his marriage with Eleanor Cobham. This was the last straw. Jacqueline's spirit was broken, and she had no more heart for the struggle. After long negotiations she made a truce with Philip at Delft through the mediation of the cardinal of Winchester, who was passing through Flanders on his way home from Rome. Four days later, on July 3, 1428, the reconciliation of Delft was signed, which ended this long, long contest. Jacqueline withdrew her appeal to Rome and submitted to the decree of the curia. She promised to enter on no new marriage without the consent of her mother, of Duke

Philip, and of the three estates of her countship. She was still, nominally, countess, but Philip was to be ruward and heir until an actual marriage, and her heir in case of her childless death. She was to enjoy the ordinary revenues of the land, governmental expenses being deducted. Two thirds of all tributes were to be employed for liquidating the national debts and one third was to be divided between Jacqueline and Philip. The offices, too, were to be divided, but in a way to ensure Philip the majority of influence. He was to relinquish all strongholds. Together the duchess and her ancient enemy were to make a progress through the country. They were to sign a written reconciliation. All exiles were to be allowed to return to the land. The progress took place at once, first in Holland and Zealand, afterward in Hainaut. Philip and Jacqueline were reconciled, joint festivities and hunting parties were celebrated. Everything pointed to peace, and great was the need.

The ruwardship of Philip lasted for five years, and Roeland van Uutkerke, with a council of nine members, administered the government of Holland and Zealand until November, 1430. Jacqueline, who usually made her residence at the Hague, was obliged to be a patient witness of her waning power. Finally she renounced formally all claim to the income from these two countships in consideration of an annuity. This renunciation was made at Valenciennes, on December 25, 1428.

In November, 1430, Philip made a further move. With Jacqueline's consent he mortgaged the revenues of the deeply debt-laden Holland and Zealand for eight years to three members of the Cod family of Borselen, of whom Lord Frank was the most influential. The Borselens received the title of "governors" of the two provinces. They were virtually farmers of the revenues, but it was really a definite cession of the provinces to the Burgundian monarchy.

In point of fact the revenues of the government at this time fell short of the expenses, and the Borselens found themselves out of pocket. Moreover, a rebellious spirit began again to manifest itself; there were quarrels between Dordrecht and the other cities about the staple; many nobles and cities were prejudiced against the Borselens.

Suddenly, in October, 1432, the duke appeared in Holland, removed Lord Frank and cast him into prison, probably on account of the secret marriage which he had contracted with the unfortunate Jacqueline in the previous summer. The circumstances surrounding this event are very obscure, but this much is plain, that both Jacqueline's mother and certain Hook nobles, in conjunction with the widow of John of Bavaria, the duke of Guelders, and the bishop of Utrecht attempted in the course of the year to overthrow Burgundian sovereignty in Holland by a universal rising aided by England. It is also very probable that the marriage and imprisonment of Lord Frank had some connection with this rebellious movement. He was thrown into prison at Rupelmonde in Flanders, and the government of Holland and Zealand was intrusted to faithful servants of the duke.

Jacqueline was permitted to enjoy her freedom, but was forced to abdicate her countship to Philip (April 12, 1433) at the command of her new husband. The official reasons given in the document were: (1) the unfavourable condition of finances, (2) the continual quarrels which rendered it difficult for a woman to govern the land, (3) the commercial necessities of the Hollanders and Zealanders, which could be better provided for under a powerful sovereign like Philip. It is plain that none of these reasons could have appealed to the proud and independent Jacqueline had not stern necessity forced her to admit them.

She retained nothing more than the titles, duchess in

Bavaria, duchess of Holland, countess of Ostrevant, besides possession of Voorne with Brill, Goes, Roemerwaal, Leerdam, and a few other places, and of the enjoyment of revenues from certain tolls. For her remaining rights Philip paid her a thousand pounds (Flemish). In April and May, the late sovereign and the new one made a second joint progress through the territories of Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut. Jacqueline released her subjects from their oath, and Philip received homage as lord of the land. Thus the three countships became Burgundian, won by cunning and by force, by art of war and art of diplomacy, after years of civil war and feud, of devastation and insecurity.

The last unhappy princess from the house of Bavaria survived this final renunciation for three years. Immediately after her abdication Lord Frank was freed, and she obtained permission to marry as she wished. In the following March the marriage was formally recognised. Lord Frank received the title of count of Ostrevant, and lived with his wife on her estates, both devoted to the pleasures of the chase and to the amusements of arms. Jacqueline was furthermore made Chief Forester of Holland—a proud title for the former sovereign of the land, as Wagenaar comments. On October 9, 1436, consumption put an end to the thirty-six restless, stormy, unhappy years of a life into which so many experiences had been crowded during its brief space. She left no children from her four marriages, and her last husband was a devoted servant of Burgundy for the rest of his life.

This important accession to the Burgundian possessions did not come to pass without some protest from others. Emperor Sigismund first made alliance with France to oppose this waxing force, full of danger to the neighbours on either side, and then pursued his way alone when France decided that her interests were, on the whole, at one with Burgundy. Humphrey of England was furious against

Philip, but it was too late for him to regain his lost ground. Nevertheless war was declared between England and the duchy, Humphrey was created count of Flanders by his royal nephew, and crossed to Calais with ten thousand men. Frank van Borselen defended Zealand bravely against the attacks of Jacqueline's former husband (1436), and Humphrey finally returned to England and made no more claims to Flemish lands. He died in February, 1447.

The years during which the three countships passed through these political struggles had been full of menace to their prosperity and commercial life. The country to the north and south of the "Y" was harried and plundered in guerrilla raids; the south-east corner of Holland was injured by the Arkel feuds, the region of the Rhine and the Meuse by the assaults on Jacqueline's strongholds; Kennemerland and West Friesland suffered, especially after the revolt of 1426; South Holland was a victim of the floods in 1426; Hainaut was an easy prey to the attacks of Brabanters and Burgundians, to the exactions of the so-called English helpers, and it is very evident that the people were ready to accept Philip of Burgundy as they had accepted the energetic John of Bavaria, because these princes alone seemed strong enough to preserve order in the land. Bearing this in mind, it is explicable why the commercial centres of Holland and Zealand stretched out no hand to Jacqueline, their legitimate princess.

What we know of their municipal finances is sufficient to show the sorry condition of the cities. It happened that the ban published by Sigismund against Duke Philip's subjects at the time of his futile strifes with Burgundy in 1427 and 1434, greatly annoyed the Holland and Zealand merchants in the region of the Baltic and the Rhine; that the Baltic cities tried to prevent the competition of

the Hollanders by throwing all manner of difficulties in the way of their trade. At this epoch the Baltic cities repeatedly forbade foreigners, and especially Hollanders, to learn Russian, in the hopes of keeping all the trade of Russia in their own hands. They plundered the Dutch ships, or rather allowed them to be plundered by the pirates who ranged the North and Baltic seas. The continued troubles between Duke Philip and the bishop of Utrecht, Rudolph of Diepholt, were not ended until 1413; the uncertain condition in Friesland where the pirates had their strongest retreats,—all were sources of injury to Dutch commerce.

In this period of disturbances the influence of the people on the government of the land increased markedly. The Estates[1] of Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut were repeatedly summoned for the needs of the province. It is true that the right of free conference of the Dutch cities about provincial matters, granted by John of Bavaria, did not remain in existence, perhaps, indeed, was never actually in force, but still the influence of the cities increased. Not only in finances, not only to grant new petitions, or to aid the prince in money difficulties, but also in affairs of universal government were the cities, and with them the nobles and clergy, summoned to the *dagvaart*, or diet. When Philip was made ruward, when Gloucester threatened an attack, when the prince drew near his end, then the cities, nobles, and clergy in Holland and Zealand were called together to give counsel. This happened, too, in Hainaut when there were negotiations about relations to Brabant and the fate of the countess before and after her flight to England, and when the quarrels occurred about the legality of Jacqueline's marriage and the rights of John of Bavaria and Philip of Burgundy.

[1] To avoid ambiguity, the word *Estates* will be used for the provincial assemblies, States-General for the congress of deputies.

In the reconciliation of Delft the "three estates" of the provinces of the countess took an important place. Their approval was considered necessary for a proposed marriage of Jacqueline. In Hainaut, at this period, the phrase "three estates," (*trois estatz*,) came to the fore for the first time. The Estates were so named in 1417, and later were repeatedly summoned under that title. Thus was born the name which was destined henceforth to be regarded as representing nobles, clergy, and cities.

The three "estates," or ranks—the nobles and prelates, to each of whom a call was sent, as well as the representatives of the municipalities,—formed by this date an opposition body to the prince. They took counsel apparently as one body, and were called together by the sovereign, or his stadtholder, who was president of the council in his absence.

The council, or *raad*, the college composed of several eminent nobles and officials of the prince chosen by him, was made wholly independent of his subjects' will in order to aid him in the government of the province. The council of Holland and Zealand, also called the court (*hof*), was always made up of other persons than that of Hainaut. The management of the territories remained, as earlier, divided, and they appeared as separate provinces in the circle of Burgundian sovereignty.

In the cities the chief families were confirmed in their old power under the Cod administration of the ruwards, John of Bavaria and Philip of Burgundy. Were they not the pillars of the Cod party? The Hooks attempted to elevate the guilds in opposition, but though here and there, during the government of Jacqueline, we find the guilds exerting some voice in the government at Leyden, Alkmaar, and Gouda, the richest and most influential burghers still retained the upper hand, and the *vroedschappen*, or town councils, gradually changed from advisory boards into bodies of the government protected

by sovereign power, and confirmed in the possession of the municipal administration.

The government by schout and schepens,[1] usual in the thirteenth century, gradually passed from the hands of these latter into those of the burgomasters, or *poortmeesters*. These dignitaries, already known in the thirteenth century in various cities as councillors (*raden*), were probably chosen first by the count and later by the schepens, usually to the number of four, in order to give counsel on oath in all affairs pertaining to the city, and further to receive the city's income, to make outlays, and to give good reckoning thereof. Thus they formed an extension of the schepens' college, which gradually relegated to them all kinds of business,—the condition of the poor, care for defences, orphans, market, police, all, indeed, that pertained to the daily administration of the city. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find them invested with the real authority, while the schepens mainly confined themselves to the administration of justice. By this date, the election of the burgomasters passed from the schepens to the town councils. As their activity increased, it became necessary to intrust a portion of the business to various officials, with specialised duties as directors of hospitals, officers for the government of other municipal institutions for the infirm, fort masters for the conduct of the defences, orphan masters, church masters intrusted with the care of ecclesiastical possessions, and spiritual masters to protect the poor.

All these dignities were filled by the chief citizens of the town, under the supervision of the leaders of the municipal government. Sometimes when the guilds were in power we find their captains taking part in the city government to represent the guild interests and to have

[1] The names of these officers are retained in the original, as sheriff and aldermen are not exact equivalents.

some oversight of the municipal finances. There were also wardens to supervise the cloth industry, etc.

In the fourteenth century, the cities of Holland and Zealand, especially the former, increased both in population and importance. It is very difficult to give exact statistics, but it may be inferred, from the numbers of the militia shooters armed with hand- and foot-bows and wearing gay caps decorated with the city colours, led by their *homans*, or captains; from the sums collected as poll tax, according to the scot-books in which every one was entered as liable "*te scote*," according to his property under oath; from the toll paid by new citizens, and from other similar items, that the population of the largest Dutch cities, about 1400, certainly could not have numbered more than eight to ten thousand souls, and that they steadily advanced in wealth.

Moreover, it is clear that as early as 1400 the municipal governments in the various Holland cities had to contend against great financial difficulties. The high demands made by the increase of population, the heavy sums called for by their hard-pressed sovereigns, the great expenses of the campaign against the Arkel family and Friesland and of the feuds at the time of Jacqueline,—all this increased the outlays enormously. The ordinary income was, evidently, no longer sufficient. Even after the count's share of taxes on market and fisheries, on school and church, had been bought off, even though municipal property was leased and sold, the share of the city in the fines imposed by the court proved inadequate. New privileges were bought from the count, permitting the imposition of higher taxes upon the necessities of life,—bread, beer, meat, turf-wood, etc.,—but still the revenues were insufficient. So in addition to heavy poll taxes they resorted to loans placed with the Lombard gold-changers and bankers of Italian origin established in all important places and endowed with important privi-

leges by the princes who had personal need of them in the provinces. At last, about 1400, a system was established of annuities paid to city creditors. In the first years of the fifteenth century these annuities played a large part in the municipal budget, and were not only sold to the burghers, but also to the inhabitants of the province, yes, even to foreigners, to Flemings, Brabanters, and Hainauters. The annuity system gained vogue and burdened the city budgets with continually increasing outlays, especially in times of disorder, when high percentage had to be paid to all purchasers of annuities—to so-called "pensionaries."

Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, it can be said that the cities of Holland took an increasingly important position in society. They ruled the country in their neighbourhood, sapped the influence of the nobles, and became a power that could not be ignored.

CHAPTER II

BRABANT, LIMBURG, AND LUXEMBURG UNITED WITH THE BURGUNDIAN REALM

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Duchess Johanna, Duke Anthony received homage throughout the Brabantine territories, and the house of Burgundy began its rule in the duchy. Dutch, the tongue of the majority of the people, was used in all the ceremonies, except at Nivelle, where the *terra gallica* began in Brabant.

Rupert of the Palatinate, then sovereign in Germany (1400), protested against this transfer of Brabant to the French royal family, but was not strong enough to make good his protests, and was forced to acquiesce in Anthony's succession as well as in his marriage to his cousin Elizabeth of Görlitz, who brought as her dowry the mortgage of Luxemburg and Chiny and the government of Alsace. This arrangement met strong opposition in Luxemburg. Sigismund of Luxemburg refused to acknowledge Anthony, who, in turn, did not take part in Sigismund's coronation as Roman king when he succeeded Rupert.

Nor was Anthony's position in Brabant without danger. The Brabantine cities resented his attempt to ignore the ancient privileges of the land and to introduce a monarchical character into the government. He could only obtain aid in his wars by gaining the individual adherence of the nobles, of the guilds, and of the municipalities, all of

whom were in position to lend support to Sigismund, untiring in his efforts to curb Burgundian power.

Duke Anthony lost his life at Agincourt (October 25, 1415), gallantly fighting with his French allies against England. The cry of "Brabant!" had rung out in the thickest of the fight. He left two sons by his first wife, John and Philip. The eldest was at once accepted by nobles, clergy, and by the cities of Brabant and Limburg as sovereign, under the title of John IV. Luxemburg was again a separate state, as Duchess Elizabeth retained sovereignty there.

The three estates immediately appointed the lord of Grimberghen as administrator of the government, with eleven regents to assist him, two abbots, three barons, two nobles, and four distinguished citizens. This arrangement was naturally very distasteful to the duke of Burgundy, uncle of the young sovereign, who expected to be his guardian, and to Sigismund, who urged his own claims to Brabant and Limburg, and wished his niece Elizabeth, Anthony's widow, to be sole regent.

The duke of Burgundy finally consented to be satisfied with a large sum of money, to the great indignation of Sigismund, who reproached the Brabanters bitterly for their defection from the empire. "Will you become French?" he cried to their deputies at Liege in 1416. "I will bring Brabant back to the German empire if it costs me my neck." But he could obtain nothing from the Brabanters beyond the assurance that they would look after the rights of Elizabeth, who had an open quarrel with the regency and had returned to Luxemburg.

Meanwhile John was declared of age at fifteen (January, 1416). He retained the council of eleven by his side. Two years later he married Jacqueline, and the results of the union have already been related as far as Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut were affected. It remains to consider the effect upon Brabant. It is not surprising that

here, too, a period of unrest and confusion ensued. The young prince lacked firmness of character. He was almost entirely under the dominion of favourites. The court of Brabant became the scene of wild dissipations, prodigality, and immorality. The weak youth left the government to a few trusted nobles, who made use of their opportunity to enrich themselves, and handed over the country to John of Bavaria. The young duke was only interested in studies of the cup, of the chase, and of the art of amusement. His favourites allowed themselves the most scandalous malfeasance, and treated the highest nobles of the land contemptuously. Among the favourites, William van den Berg, lord of Orbay, his treasurer-general, was prominent. After his murder in 1419, Everhard Tserclaes, the duke's court marshal, was taken into high favour.

Tserclaes was most inimical to Jacqueline, and to him were due several of her bitterest misfortunes, the chief of which was the outrageous transference of Holland and Zealand to John of Bavaria. Finally, however, all this roused so much opposition, that in 1420, when the duke assembled the estates of his realm at Brussels, many nobles and the city of Louvain refused to appear and sent formal written protests against the existing abuses.

At the head of this movement were the lords of Bergen op Zoom, and Heeswick, besides Count Engelbert of Nassau and Vianden, lord of Leck and Breda, who had brought the last two possessions into his family by his marriage with the heiress of the Polanens. Engelbert thus became the founder of the Netherland Nassaus. With these nobles were allied the lords of Diest, of Wesemale, and of Montjoye. The diplomate and historian Dynter also belonged to this party. They met at Louvain and protested against the court party, which counted the lords of Assche and Coudenberg, besides Tserclaes and other Brussels nobles, among their leaders.

Brussels, Antwerp, and Bois-le-duc tried to mediate between them, and thus to prevent a civil war. The two parties began to make friends with various Holland nobles like the count of Meurs and Lord John of Heinsberg, whose son had succeeded John of Bavaria at Liege, and whose family exercised great influence in the region between the Meuse and the Rhine, and with the leaders of the opposition party in Holland.

The courtiers found friends in John of Bavaria and the Cods, while their opponents affiliated with the Hook party. The smaller Brabant cities attached themselves mainly to the Hooks, later both Brussels and Antwerp followed their example. In Brussels the feuds between the nobles soon came to open hostilities. The duke clung closely to Tserclaes, with whose aid he made a new council of ten persons. The malcontents sought and obtained aid from Jacqueline and her mother and also from Philip of St. Pol, the duke's brother, who was captain-general of Paris in spite of his youth. He actually appeared in Brabant with ambassadors from France and Burgundy to put an end to hostilities, dangerous on account of the inimical attitude of the emperor toward the Burgundian family.

But all efforts at reconciliation failed. John fled from Brussels to John of Bavaria, Philip was made ruward of Brabant, Jacqueline and her mother were invited back to Brussels, and a new war began against John of Bavaria.

In January, 1421, the duke ventured back to his capital, but he was forced into making many concessions. The popular movement, under the leadership of one Gerard van der Zijpe, gained great headway. The duke was forced to sacrifice his favourite, Tserclaes, and others, and to accept the ruwardship of his brother. The native nobles were beheaded at the request of the guilds (February 2, 1424). The Holland lords were made prisoners and taken away. Duke John was then restored to his

office, but was henceforth the plaything of his subjects, without independent will. In the cities the guilds were predominant.

The following years were full of hostilities of one kind and another. It was only by the support of Philip of Burgundy and John of Bavaria that the weak young sovereign was kept, nominally, on his throne. In the last years of his reign occurred the greatest deed of his weak administration, the foundation of the university at Louvain. Before this all students in that region were obliged to go to France to pursue their studies.

> "The sons of nobles in their early youth
> Are sent to France to gain the learned truth," [1]

as the fourteenth-century jingle runs. Paris, Orleans, and Montpellier were convenient nurseries of learning, and there many a Netherlander won his laurels. Students were found, too, in the Italian universities, at Bologna, the seat of legal studies, at Padua, renowned for medicine; in Spain at Salamanca, and, after 1388, at Cologne. At the last the Netherland students were chiefly from the diocese of Utrecht. The names of Netherland clergy occur in the lists of university students in theology and law, in classics and medicine. We can reckon them by tens, the Theodorics, the Williams, or whatever the baptismal name might be of those who had no noble titles or birthrights, but simply called themselves from the place of their origin, or the province in which they lived. They are not only found as students, but as *magistri* and *doctores*, and sometimes as professors in the foreign universities that they frequented, and where they expounded the dogmas of the church, natural science, such as it was then, or the complicated questions of *jus utrumque*, of ecclesiastical and secular law.

[1] "*Filii nobilium, dum sunt juniores,*
Mittuntur in Francia fieri doctores."

At a request from the duke, who evinced an unexpected interest in learning,[1] Pope Martin V. granted permission to establish a university at Louvain for the benefit of all branches of knowledge except theology (December, 1425). Martin's successor, Eugenius IV., extended the curriculum to theology, possibly to the annoyance of Cologne, which was gaining great reputation in that realm of learning, and was disposed to resent the rise of Louvain. The university was established at Louvain instead of at Brussels, because citizens of the capital were afraid of a student body with their lawless and tumultuous customs. The new school flourished from the outset, and was frequented by students from all the Netherland provinces. There was great rejoicing over the foundation, which rendered unnecessary a long journey to France or to Italy. Cologne, however, continued to be a dangerous rival to the new state of learning.

The duke was very zealous in the matter. The misfortunes of late years, the frightful scenes of popular fury that he had experienced at Brussels, seem to have brought him to his senses. We find him zealously performing his religious duties and exercising beneficence on a large scale. But just then Jacqueline's adherents threatened his own life and liberty as well as the tranquillity of his land. A conspiracy was discovered in December, 1426, and it was clear that the intriguing mother of the duchess had tried to obtain possession of his person to force him to acknowledge Jacqueline as lawful sovereign of Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut, and to make war on Philip of Burgundy. John IV. lived in continual fear of such attacks, and died suddenly at Lier before he reached his twenty-fourth year (April, 1427).

His brother, Philip of St. Pol, succeeded him. The young prince ruled according to the will of the party which had gained ascendancy at the time of the dis-

[1] The Count of Nassau, then the most influential noble in Brabant, was the moving spirit in this matter.

turbances, but at the same time subject to the approval of his uncle, the duke of Burgundy. He survived his accession barely three years. Shortly after his marriage with Iolanthe of Jerusalem, sister-in-law to the French king, he died without issue (August, 1430). He was the last representative of the Brabant branch of the Burgundian family.

It was a question as to whom the heritage should fall. Sigismund had no real power in the matter. He ordered the Burgundian to appear before him, but his commands were unheeded. The Estates of Brabant met at Louvain and discussed the respective claims of Philip of Burgundy, heir of the extinct family, and of Margaret of Burgundy, Jacqueline's mother, eldest daughter of Duke Philip the Bold. Jacqueline was put aside. Her marriage with Humphrey of Gloucester had alienated the Brabanters.

Philip won the day. The Estates of Brabant, Limburg, and of the territories across the Meuse acknowledged him as sovereign, and in October, 1430, he received formal homage as duke. A few years later he reminded Sigismund that in the tenth century Brabant had covered a very large territory, all between the Meuse and the Scheldt.

Elizabeth of Görlitz, Duke Anthony's widow, did indeed attempt to urge her claims, but Sigismund's support was impotent against the Burgundians. Some futile effort was made in her behalf by German friends. She struggled to hold her own for some years. After her death, in August, 1451, Philip assumed the title of duke of Luxemburg, count of Chiny, and governor of Alsace. Thus the south-eastern portion of the Netherlands, with its dependencies, besides rich Brabant, came into the hands of Burgundy. A considerable portion of the German empire had again fallen to the share of Germany's dangerous neighbours.

CHAPTER III

UTRECHT IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

IN the thirteenth century Utrecht was under the political influence of Holland, and was often sacrificed to the interests of the countship.

Bishop Guy of Hainaut (1301–1317) took an active part in the contest between Holland and Flanders, lost his liberty in battle near Duiveland, and remained for some time in the hands of the enemy. The Lower Sticht[1] was at this time under the control of the Flemings and their friends, with Lord John of Renesse at their head. When the Flemings were driven from Holland in 1304, they were obliged to vacate Utrecht too, and from that time Guy remained in close alliance with Holland.

With the aid of the Hollanders he repulsed the Frisians, who menaced the safety of the region of Vollenhove, and with the same aid he held in check his arrogant nobles and the tumultuous cities. Within the walls of Utrecht the Lichtenberg party had fallen in the defeat of the Hollanders. Flemish supremacy had broken the strength of the patricians, the guilds had won permanent influence in the municipal government, and the guild patents of 1304 confirmed their gains. The council, whose power was steadily waxing in comparison with that of the patrician schepens' college, was henceforth composed of

[1] The term *Sticht* is the ordinary word employed to designate the bishopric of Utrecht, and will be retained in the translation.

twenty-four members elected by the aldermen of the guilds. The schepens were practically excluded from the municipal administration, and their duties became solely judicial. They were no longer chosen for life, but were appointed annually by the council. Thus a new spirit entered into the Utrecht government, the spirit of democracy. Our knowledge here is not as exact as for the Flemish cities either in regard to the development of these events or as to the leaders. Still, the nature of the movement is plain enough. It was no chance that democracy made her entry here with John of Renesse and the Flemings. As has already been pointed out, the Flemish incursion into Holland was a result of the anti-French democratic sentiment. With the fall of the Lichtenbergers, the municipal aristocracy of Utrecht, who had depended on them, suffered a serious defeat from which it never recovered.

After Guy's return to the see, he realised the necessity of making some concessions to the guilds. He ratified the changes in the municipal administration. In other ways, too, he showed a comprehension of the needs of his country. In 1308, he granted the famous dike brief to Salland, a region insufficiently protected against the Yssel. The most noteworthy point in this brief is that herein occurs the first mention of a "law established and published at Spoelderberg"[1] wherein "nobles and simples" and "my land" promised to maintain together the stipulations therein contained.

Guy attempted to place the state finances on a better footing, and went abroad for a time in order to diminish the expenses of maintaining his court. He succeeded in paying off many debts, thanks to the assistance of Pope Clement V. Further, he built the castles of Goor, Dullenberg, and Stoutenberg for the better defence of

[1] *Dumbar, Analecta*, ii., 233. The Spoelderberg at Zwolle is apparently the ancient judgment-seat of Salland.

the country. Thus he ruled for sixteen years, highly esteemed for his talents and for the skill and vigour of his administration. It is said that a cardinal's hat was offered him at the council of Vienne, at the instigation of the French king. If this were true, he must have refused it.

At his death (1317) the condition of the Sticht changed materially. William III. of Holland, Guy's cousin, at once made himself master of Amstel and Woerden, which were never regained by the Sticht. His successor, Frederick van Zyrik, was a mere tool of William, who made him pay so heavily for his mitre that he found it very difficult to meet his other expenses. He died shortly after (1321), and the debt-burdened bishopric seemed destined to become entirely subordinate to Holland. The first bishop elected by the chapter died in the same year, and it had been stipulated that the pope should fill the vacancy. The will of the chapter was accordingly ignored, and the pope appointed the weak John of Diest as bishop at the request of the duke of Brabant and of the counts of Holland and Guelders. Troops of the allied princes escorted the new prelate to his see.

Bishop John was at the mercy of his powerful friends, and was forced, moreover, to pay large sums to pacify his rivals, Jacob van Zuden and John van Bronkhorst. His own relations, too, seized on rich offices in the bishopric, and the Sticht fell into a state of confusion and weak dependence.

Under the lord of Coevorden, Drenthe had become practically a separate state; so, too, had Groningen, while a purchase of Dalen and Diepenheim from the bishop's nephew seemed to increase episcopal territory, but was, in reality, more of an advantage to the seller than to the purchaser.

Nevertheless the Sticht reaped some advantage from this. The cities, both in the Upper and Lower Stichts, gradually gained independence and acquired one sove-

reign privilege after another. Utrecht gained weight in the Lower Sticht. In 1328, the bishop's council contained two burgomasters and two aldermen of the city besides the other members.[1] The death of the weak bishop in 1341 was little lamented by his subjects, but confusion increased. The succession was contested, and finally the Holland candidate, John of Arkel, gained the victory.

There were two years of virtual anarchy. The Utrecht democracy extended its influence by means of the guild brief of 1341, and succeeded in maintaining a supremacy then obtained, to the end of episcopal rule. Under John of Arkel affairs improved. This cultivated and clever prince of the church tried to bring about financial improvements as Guy of Hainaut had done before him. For a time he established himself at Grenoble in France, intrusting the government to his brother and his able vicar, the provost Zweder Uterloo. In this way he saved large sums, as he lived very simply at Grenoble, and succeeded in somewhat diminishing foreign influence by redeeming mortgaged territories, castles, and estates.

The confusion in Holland after the death of William IV. gave him an opportunity to throw off the yoke of Holland oppression, although he was unable to recover the territories, Amstel, Woerden, and Vianen, from the young Bavarian heir to Hainaut power in Holland. Border raids from both sides continued, however, until peace was made in 1358.

Reinald of Guelders renounced his control over the Yssel (1346) in consideration of the payment of the sum he had lent on the Upper Sticht. But in order to redeem this mortgage and to pay military expenses the bishop was obliged to contract new debts. He mortgaged the Lower Sticht to Zweder Uterloo and five other prominent

[1] Mr. Muller considers this as a kind of representation. I believe that he goes too far. It was an ordinary council of the prince which had more power in one respect only than earlier colleges of the same sort.—P. J. B.

individuals, the Upper Sticht to Lord Frederick van der Eese. Nothing remained to him but the castle at Vollenhove. Naturally these transactions paved the way for new difficulties. The holders of the mortgages became more and more insolent in their demands, claiming, finally, Vollenhove and the episcopal seal. It was three years before the bishop succeeded in regaining control of the Lower Sticht, with the help of the cities of Utrecht and Amersfoort, and with heavy payments. Frederick van der Eese retained the Upper Sticht until 1354.

The sufferings in the country were intense. The farm lands were exposed to plunder and devastation from friend and foe, from bishop and nobles, abandoned to the pleasure of avaricious mortgagees, native nobles, or foreign princes. Moreover, the bishop had many feuds, many predatory raids to contend with. His was no light task, but with the help of his cities the energetic prelate finally conquered all difficulties, and by 1361 had succeeded in restoring peace.

One powerful noble alone continued to defy him. This was Zweder van Voorst, the terror of Salland. The merchants of Zwolle, Deventer, and Kampen suffered sorely at his hands. The castle of Voorst, the most redoubtable robber stronghold on the Yssel, protected by walls eighty feet high and twelve feet thick, and provided with a numerous garrison, was a good refuge for the highwaymen and river thieves who attacked the merchants as they travelled on the Yssel. In 1362, the bishop and the three cities joined forces against their common foe, the former promising new municipal privileges to his allies if success should crown their efforts. From the end of July until the middle of November, burghers and bishop's men besieged those massive walls until finally their patience met success. The castle was destroyed with difficulty. The iron door still preserved at Kampen bears witness to the solidity of this stronghold. It is evident that under

such conditions as the above, the bishops had slight influence in the cities. They gained independence, made treaties with other cities as leaders of the Hanse towns, and confined themselves to a purely formal recognition of episcopal supremacy. Only a few tolls and revenues were paid to the episcopal overlord.

The life in the cities was very similar to burgher life elsewhere in the provinces. Within Utrecht itself the guilds grew stronger. The power of the guilds waxed as that of the bishops waned. In the fourteenth century the council (*raad*) tried to gain control of the criminal and civil courts in which the bishop had once exercised sovereign right. This was a great grievance with Bishop Guy. Moreover, the bishop's representative in court, the schout, had to yield his authority to the schepen-burgomaster of the city of Utrecht, who would have assumed all the schout's duties had the council had its way. In short, at the end of the century, criminal jurisdiction was lodged in the council, while the power of this college made great encroachments in the realm of civil jurisprudence. Violent quarrels between the democratic and the aristocratic parties in the city, the Gunterlings, as the former was called from the family who led the democratic movement in this century, and the Lichtenbergers, the ancient party of Holland sympathisers. These quarrels bore a strong resemblance to those of the Cods and the Hooks in Holland, of the Heeckerens and Bronkhorsts in Guelders and Overyssel, of the Gelkings and followers of the burggrave in Groningen, of the Schieringers and Vetkoopers in Friesland. Nay, more than that, there was an undoubted connection between them.

The party disturbances in Utrecht were very frequent. As late as 1379 and 1380 a revolt of the Gunterlings took place, being probably incited by the troubles in Ghent that always awoke an echo in Holland. In spite of these untoward conditions, Utrecht remained an

important city, although less so than formerly. The times were long past when it was the only commercial town on the Rhine system to rank with Dorestad. Many other places in Holland, Guelders, Friesland, and in the Sticht itself had interest in the increasing traffic. Utrecht was not situated on the sea nor even on a great river after the Rhine was choked up at Katwijk. After 1200 it lost its significance as the centre of foreign trade, but remained an important market-place for the country districts of the Lower Sticht, where there was no other large town. It happened, accordingly, that the great merchants were forced to give way to the representatives of inland trade.

The commercial towns of the Upper Sticht, Deventer and Kampen, were, on the other hand, at the very height of prosperity, thanks to their extensive trade with the other Hanse towns, in which Kampen had a large share. Their messengers of counsel, *raadsendeboden*, made their voice heard at the Hanse assemblies in the last quarter of the century. It must be noted that the smaller guilds in these cities as well as at Groningen were not significant. The municipal administration was in the hands of rich merchants, whose ships and goods were well known in England and on the Baltic. The twelve schepens of Deventer chose their successors for the year following. Those whose terms had just expired became councillors and shared the duties of government with the first college. It was thus a government of the few. The commonalty, the body of citizens, had little voice, and the other cities were like Deventer. The burgher aristocracy, the rich merchants, were the rulers. They even went so far as to give no account of their expenditures to the citizens at large, but the schepens intrusted with finances, the *Cameraars*, as they were called at Deventer, were only accountable to their fellow-schepens.[1] The citizens had nothing to

[1] Specific references are omitted in translation. See appendix for authorities.

do but to obey, to pay the imposed taxes, to go to war; the guilds were held in check by strong measures. The most important right of the citizens and the one most jealously watched was that of the commons (*gemeene weide*), a survival of the conditions existing formerly in the boundaries, or marks, under the usages of which these places had existed before they obtained municipal institutions. The bishop and his officer, schout or judge, were disregarded. Criminal jurisdiction, with a very slight voice in some civil cases—this was the limit of the functions of the episcopal schout. Probably he also supervised what was saved from the shipwreck of the bishop's sovereign rights and revenues.

At this period there still existed at Groningen an episcopal prefect, a burggrave, but his power was very limited in comparison with that of the council. It could not well be otherwise, considering the distance between the city and the weak episcopal sovereign, especially as Drenthe was practically independent under the Coevorden burggrave, or lord. In the cities, the mass of citizens, the commonalty, lived simply under the paternal municipal government, quietly enough, unless they were torn by internal quarrels, or harassed by attacks from the neighbouring nobles. On market days the country people flocked into the city and made their purchases, as of old, from native and foreign merchants. Paving was introduced very slowly. A few wooden buildings were replaced by stone, thatch by tiles. Glass windows, little square panes, greenish, and not really transparent, were still articles of luxury only occasionally accessible to very rich people. Candles formed the usual means of lighting, though oil lamps in primitive form were also in use. Copper and iron kettles, flasks, cups, spoons, jugs, platters of pewter and stone utensils of all kinds formed a large portion of the household equipment. Fish and meat were rare; bread, mainly of barley and rye, peas, and

beans were the chief provisions even of the well-to-do. Beer of home manufacture and of German brew was the usual beverage. Sour fruit wine was a prized luxury. Such was the condition in the cities of the bishopric; within four strong walls, a well-provided, well-armed commonalty could feel itself fairly safe. Powder was already in use by this time. At Deventer it was employed after 1348. Although there was no question of self-government for the majority of the citizens, still the administration of the patricians was a great step forward in comparison with the arbitrary government of the avaricious officials of an incapable ruler.

The country district of the Sticht offered less security to the inhabitants than the cities. Castles abounded, and the methods of their owners differed little from downright robbery. Many of the strongholds on the boundaries were mortgaged to the neighbouring princes, and hence offered no protection against their depredations, and incursions from Holland and Guelders were matters of frequent occurrence. In addition to the attacks of hostile men, the inhabitants had constantly to be on their guard against devastating inroads of the sea, resulting from the floods that occurred at that time. Gradually improvements were made in the Upper Sticht. In Salland, the dikes were greatly strengthened in accordance with the instruction of Guy's patent (*Gwyenbrief*) of 1308. The country near Steenwijk and Giethoorn was made to yield a profit from peat bogs, and comparative peace was attained by a reconciliation (*toeslaan van Mastenbroek*) between the bishop and the lord of Voorst. In the Lower Sticht similar improvements were introduced as early as the twelfth century.

A picture of the condition of the country in other respects is offered by an interesting register kept by the episcopal steward of Twente in the fourteenth century.

Many farms, especially those in the neighbourhood of

Enschede and Oldenzaal, lay waste, or were only partially cultivated. An accumulation of taxes deprived the peasants of their harvests for long periods. Usually the payments were not made in money, but in kind. At one period the annual rent was established each year, a very advantageous point to the peasant with uncertain crops. This was done either at the request of the steward or of the peasant himself. Occasionally, too, it happened that the landlord received a certain proportion of the crop instead of either a money rent or a fixed amount of produce. This last method was the fairest to the peasants, but the old system of a fixed amount of produce, irrespective of the abundance of the harvest, remained the customary one.

It is interesting to note that the taxes were manifold in nature. There were free peasants whose property alone was liable to taxation, while their persons were free. Certain taxes called *census* seem to have arisen from the semi-dependence (*onvrijheid*) in which the peasant was originally. Other taxes called *precaria* probably originated in feudal conditions. The peasant had to bring his lord rent hounds, rent corn, rent barley. Swine might be replaced by a sum of money if there were not acorns enough to feed them,—debt swine, tribute swine. Nearly every possession of the peasant had a lien upon it, and he was expected to bring his dues at fixed periods to one of the eight episcopal *curtes*.[1] It must be remembered that every peasant did not have to pay *all* the taxes. It cannot be definitely known how heavily they pressed, and the material is lacking for further investigation of the relation between the extent of the various estates mentioned in the list and the individual properties.

John of Arkel was one of the most capable bishops that ever reigned over the Sticht. Many improvements of

[1] Homestead farms.

many kinds were due to him. He built convents and churches, established libraries, and offered protection to scholars like John de Beka, the compiler of the chronicle of Utrecht. He tried, too, to bring the authority of the church into better repute by holding several synods. He made a reform spirit manifest in Utrecht as he had in Liege.

His successor, John of Virnenburg (1364–1371) was totally unfit for the place. He was unable to hold his own against the unruly nobles within and without the Sticht, and was actually held a prisoner in his castle of Goor, by a band of nobles from Overyssel, until he paid a heavy ransom. After his death the chapter of Utrecht endeavoured to elevate the provost, Zweder Uterloo, to the vacant see, but the other chapters opposed him and elected Arnold of Hoorn. The new bishop had the learned Philip of Leyden as his vicar, and continued the reforms initiated by Arkel. He was less forceful, but did succeed in redeeming the property mortgaged by his immediate predecessors and holding his own against the nobles, among whom the most formidable was Herbaren van Putten. The growing disorders of the nobles caused the erection of a new institution in north-western Germany, which also had some effect at this time, and later in the eastern part of the Netherland provinces, in Overyssel, Zutphen, and Drenthe—namely, the *Vehmgericht*.

Westphalia had enjoyed several peculiar political institutions. In addition to the count's court, dependent on the duke of Saxony or on the ecclesiastic princes of Cologne, Münster, Osnabrück, etc., there were a number of ancient count's courts depending directly on the German sovereign. The old courts were remodelled as circumstances changed. This happened, for instance, when the freemen under their jurisdiction decreased in number, when new kinds of personal freedom came into being,

especially that of the burghers, in the so-called "*kromme*," or free countships, which exercised authority over the many existing kinds of free subjects and burghers.

As the royal power declined in the German empire and as the smaller landowners increased, the free countships declined in importance. The old landowners who enjoyed judicial rights alienated them in many ways, split them up and divided them, and even leased or sold them to cities and menials. In this manner there sprang up in Westphalia a number of independent courts holding their authority from the emperor alone, an authority which counted for little in the days of waning imperial power. The possessors of a free tribunal called themselves in later times *tribunal lords*. For every free tribunal, they appointed a free count who had to be confirmed by the king before he could appear in that capacity. He gave judgment according to the verdict of his free schepens, appointed by himself. The court of the free count and his free schepens was called a vehmgericht, a term without an English equivalent.

In the fourteenth century, at the time of the emperors Louis of Bavaria and Charles IV., the vehmgericht assumed some importance. Under Wenzel, Charles's successor, this importance increased until the first half of the fifteenth century, when it reached the zenith of its power during the reigns of Sigismund and Frederick III. The court of Westphalia, the *rothe Erde*, red earth, as it was called in later times, was extended over all Germany. The free schepens numbered thousands in the empire, and there were more than four hundred courts in the circle of Westphalia. Westphalia remained the chief seat, although there were attempts to introduce them elsewhere. Princes and nobles, Emperor Sigismund himself, submitted to the judgments of the free schepens. The ordinary Westphalian courts were terrified at the power with which these rivals enforced their sentences. Princes and

cities bowed to it. What was the real reason for the success of these courts at that epoch ? In the first place, they had the character and standing of imperial courts, and thus took precedence of local courts, while, too,—justly or unjustly,—they enjoyed a higher reputation for impartiality than was possible to other tribunals whose dependence on princes, lords, and municipal governments gave occasion for many a complaint.

So far as impartiality goes, much remained to be desired in the actual working of the court, especially in later times. In the fifteenth century, indeed even in the fourteenth, there were judges who sold their benches for limited periods to the interested parties so that they might obtain a sentence to their will. The free counts and free schepens took advantage of the increasing reputation of their courts, and accepted bribes. It was easier to bid for a judgment than in other courts, and finally the abuse became frightful. A great attraction was certainly the simplicity, strength, and rapidity of the judicature. Robbery, murder, and thievery were the crimes to be tried before the ancient *geboden ding*, the court extraordinary of the time of the Franks. These crimes remained, together with feud and perjury, the principal cases presented to the free courts. In Westphalia, where there was a scattered farming population, these misdemeanours required speedy punishment. If the crime were proven, it was very important for the region that there should be no delay in the execution of justice. The vehmgericht reconciled these requirements and the ancient usages as follows: the plaintiff appeared in court between two free schepens. Kneeling, he made his complaint; the two free schepens confirmed it on oath. Thereupon the judges considered whether the case was properly under the court's jurisdiction; then followed the serving of the writ upon the accused. On an appointed day the court met and the free count summoned the

defendant at the demand of the plaintiff and the real trial began. The accused could defend himself by bringing six compurgators to confront the two of the plaintiff, and the plaintiff had to repeat the complaint with thirteen. If the accused could then produce twenty compurgators he was acquitted, if not, he was declared guilty. Schepens alone were eligible for compurgators.

When the sentence was pronounced, the accused was outlawed (*vervehmt*). This ban of outlawry, "*vervehmung*," was pronounced in solemn phrases of ancient origin: "The accused, being convicted, I deprive him of the peace, of the law, and of the freedom, bestowed and confirmed by pope and by emperor, and sworn before all princes, lords, knights, knaves, schepens, and freemen in the land of Saxony, and I deprive him of all freedom and right in the king's jurisdiction and common law; his corpse belongs to the birds and the beasts to destroy, and his soul we commend to the hand of God."

After the utterance of these words, the free count took some hemp or bent willow twigs in his hand and threw them outside of the circle which formed the court. Thus the accused was, as in ancient time, placed beyond the pale of society. Every free schepen was bound to aid in the fulfilment of the sentence. If those charged with the execution of the sentence could not obtain the person of the convict at once they were free to use the first opportunity. Three free schepens could execute the sentence.

But, after all, the secrecy of these courts was probably a great factor in their popularity, though this same secrecy was greatly exaggerated.

After the middle of the fourteenth century, the vehmgericht endeavoured to wrap itself more and more in mystery, to the end that the people might be the more impressed. The real secrecy did not consist in the form of the court. This was never held, as was asserted later,

in the dead of night, in a lonely place in silence and gloom, but, on the contrary, in broad daylight. Neither torches nor masks nor awe-inspiring emblems played a part. The chief part of the secrecy was that the schepen's oath, the vehm oath, and the ancient formulas in which judgment was pronounced were kept secret, so that no uninitiated could pretend to be initiated. Further there was an attempt to insure the fulfilment of a sentence by expressly forbidding any warning being given to the outlaw, and the writs could only be served by the initiated.

In an ancient vehm oath occur the words: " I promise that I will keep, hold, and preserve the vehm from man, from woman, from turf and from twig, from stock and from stone, from grass and from grain, from all living creatures, from all God's creatures, from all that God has let exist between heaven and earth."

This oath was taken before the free count while the initiate held two fingers of the right hand on his sword hilt. Later, much later, the initiation of a free schepen became more secret and more solemn.

In the fifteenth century, the cases taken cognisance of by the vehmgericht became no longer robbery, murder, and thieving, but civil suits in general and especially trials about debts. Herewith the door was opened to disgraceful practices. If the accused were condemned, then the plaintiff had the right to levy his claim on the property of the condemned. Often the sentence assumed the significance of an imperial ban. Only in the utmost danger could a sentence be evaded when the life of the accused was at stake, for the plaintiff could not make a claim on the property of the accused; so it is not to be wondered at that the case was rarely allowed to come to an issue, that the number of death sentences was small, at least at the time of the greatest reputation of the vehmgericht.

The many abuses finally led to a universal opposition to the vehmgericht. The city merchants fell a prey to the most shameful practices of the courts, princes were repeatedly accused by petty lords and robber barons in these courts. The emperor himself, Frederick III., felt the inconvenience of these arbitrary tribunals and took vigorous measures to suppress them. The courts ceased as an institution, but, with the tenacity of ancient customs, a few lived on into this century, when they vanished with the Holy Roman Empire, to exist henceforth in poetry and literature alone.

By the time that the vehmgericht entered on this phase of decay, the free courts no longer existed in any Netherland provinces, with one exception. Although many a Netherland town, especially in the eastern part of the provinces, was summoned before one of the Westphalian courts in the course of the fifteenth century, in the provinces themselves the vehmgericht was never firmly established. The free court of Bredevoort was held on the old manorial farm Walfort, near Winterswijk, originally Westphalian territory. This had lapsed to the count of Guelders, together with the fortress of Bredevoort and other property of the lords of Loon in 1326, and remained in operation until the end of the fifteenth century, under the sovereigns of Guelders. This court was probably the only ancient one in the province, the only one descended from an ancient count's tribunal; once held under the hawthorns of Walfort, which included the old villages Winterswijk, Aalten, and Dinxperloo.

The remaining free courts in the provinces date from the fourteenth century. They were established after the manner of those in Westphalia, and at a time when the defects were less apparent than the effectiveness. Reinald III. of Coevorden, virtually lord and master of Drenthe, obtained from Charles IV. the right establishing a court in Drenthe in 1357, but no trace of a vehmge-

richt proper has been found in the region. It is possible that the permission was never used; this is not certain, as the information we possess of Drenthe at this period is very scanty.

A similar permission, "to the end of furthering peace and destroying evil doers in the region," was given by the emperor in 1361 to the bishop, John of Arkel, for his estates Twente and Salland. Probably the measure was directed against the turbulent nobles in the district, but, although there seems to be one instance of the working of the free court, we hear nothing of the vehmgericht until Bishop Frederick of Blankenheim renewed it at Goor with the approval of Emperor Sigismund. Nothing further is known, however, of this court. Probably the weakness of the rule of the later bishops in Overyssel rendered it a dead letter.

The latest free court of which there is any mention, is that of Deventer, established by King Wenzel at the time of Floris of Wevelijkhoven, but it seems never to have come into active operation. Thus the vehmgericht never took root in the Netherlands, the bishops being too weak to maintain the institution which might have been useful against the turbulent nobles. Later, too, in the fifteenth century, in the other provinces beyond Guelders and the bishopric, the authority of the vehmgericht had very little significance. When John of Bavaria was summoned before the free court (1423), he declared in plain terms that "the bidding of the secret court was unknown in Holland and Zealand. No reckoning is taken thereof according to the usages and customs of these lands. And they do the same, too, in other lands here about, as Brabant, Flanders, and elsewhere."[1]

Guelders and Overyssel, on the other hand, could show, before the fifteenth century, numerous examples of the working of the Westphalian courts. Often the

[1] Th. Lindner, *Die Veme*, p. 515.

citizens of the cities situated in the region were summoned to appear, yes, even Arnold of Guelders and his chief nobles. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the city Groningen found itself obliged to defend itself before the vehmgericht on the charge of a merchant against the city. Nine years long was the city placed under a ban and her male citizens between the ages of twelve and seventy, outlawed. And although no single Groningen citizen lost his life, the property of the Groningen merchants was frequently confiscated by right of this sentence. After almost forty years, the case having been tried in courts of all kinds, the city was finally compelled to pay the fine originally imposed in order to remove the dangers from their commerce. The vehmgerichts had long since lost their significance, and were not even useful against the robber barons.

Bishop Arnold was soon involved in hostilities of various kinds. He was forced to take part in the troubles in Guelders and Jülich, besides being constantly harassed by the contentions of his own nobles. In 1373, matters became serious. A new canal and sluice near Vreeswijk affected the toll receipts of the lord of Vianen on the Lek and threatened to avert commerce from Dordrecht. A dispute arose, moreover, about the payment of a mortgage on Vredeland by Holland, which proved the last straw, and war was declared between Duke Albert and the bishop. In 1374, the fortress of Gildenborch, which had been erected by the Utrecht guilds to protect the works at Vreeswijk, was destroyed by the Hollanders, and the border towns suffered seriously on both sides, until a reconciliation was made in 1375.

In 1378, Arnold was elected bishop of Liege, and prepared to hold both sees. His rival, however, Floris van Wevelikhoven, bishop of Münster, gained possession of the Sticht after a year's struggle, and enjoyed what he could of an uneasy and troubled reign in which temporal

difficulties played a greater part than spiritual peace. It was the period of the great schism in the church, and the rival popes confirmed rival candidates for ecclesiastical offices throughout Europe, so that waves of dissension rolled to every distant shore.

Politics were as prominent in the episcopal courts as at the curia, and very few bishops gave any heed to their nominal duty. They were lay princes, not church governors.

The chief clergy in Utrecht, the canons of the chapter, were usually younger sons of nobles, who secured fat benefices through family influence, with no reference as to their fitness for the office. This evil did not pass unheeded at the time. *Contra Turrim Trajectensem* is the title of a passionate sermon preached by Geert de Groote against the arrogance and luxury of the superior clergy of Utrecht. Nor was the evil confined to them. The inferior priests, too, lived openly with women, and made every effort to provide for their illegitimate offspring from church property. Luxury and wantonness prevailed in the humble pastorates as well as in the episcopal palaces. Several church offices were held by one person and the duties were performed by hirelings. Dignities were bestowed on minors in direct violation of canonical law. "Where," exclaims Geert, "is the shepherd who would care for his cure, could he earn his living in any other way?" Church laws were not observed. Synods were rarely held, and the resolutions formed there were thrown to the winds. The traffic in indulgences was already rife at this time. "The correction is in the purse, but does not touch the soul," says Ruysbroeck. "Money is the penance and penalty for all sin."

In the cloisters it was no better. Benedictines, Augustinians, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Dominicans, and Franciscans,—all the old orders degenerated. "They seek the wool rather than the sheep." Wealth and luxury,

worldliness and wantonness, had all crept into cloister life. Abbots and abbesses were, often, younger children of nobles, attracted to convent life purely for the sake of revenues. In some orders the admission of half-lay members produced shameful results. The Carthusians were the only ones who remained true to the rules of their order. They came into the Netherlands in the middle of the fourteenth century, and their establishments, Mariënklooster near Geertruidenberg, Munnikhuizen near Arnhem, later those of Roermond and Bloemendael near Utrecht, were acknowledged nurseries of piety. Their cloisters were new and poor foundations, to be sure, but their rules were effective.

This establishment of new orders and the increase in the beguinages produced some improvement, and points to a reaction within the church against the secularising of the older orders. But it is not surprising that the prevalent abuses began to produce a revolt against the whole ecclesiastical system, and, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, heresy appeared in the strangest and most bizarre forms. One sect of free spirits appeared on the Rhine and took root in the Netherland provinces. They abandoned fast-days and holidays, penance, and other outward forms, disapproved of monastic life, and denied the authority of the spiritual hierarchy. They were accused of indulging in immoral practices, while claiming to be free from sin, but it is difficult to ascertain the real truth, as all our information concerning them springs from inimical sources. Many mystics of this century were said to be of this sect, and undoubtedly it had adherents among the beguins. The famous Bloemardine of Brussels, the apostle of seraphic love, was reckoned as one. In the diocese of Utrecht their teaching was, apparently, very popular about 1380, when the Augustine Bartholomeus of Dordrecht, whose monastery had already come under suspicion of heresy, preached doc-

trines that savoured of their belief. This was the period when the Lollards flourished in England, and also appeared occasionally in the provinces.

The sects of flagellants and dancers were more dangerous to society. The terrible plague of the fourteenth century had frightened all classes of society. No one knew the cause of the pestilence, it being even laid at the door of the Jews. There were many attempts to gain the favour of the Deity by special acts of penance to avert the dread calamity. As early as the thirteenth century a favourite form of penance was a flagellant procession in which the participants, marching from town to town, submitted to mutual castigations. This strange phenomenon was manifested in the Netherlands. Flagellants appeared suddenly and departed no one knew whither, as they made their pilgrimages. Many inhabitants of Netherland cities, clergy and laymen, joined in the processions and went on from church to church, scourging themselves. Persecutions of the Jews, too, were the order of the day as a part of this movement. The flagellants were regarded with veneration, their very garments being prized as shrouds.

The detailed story of one of these processions has been preserved to us. In the summer of 1349, four hundred inhabitants of Dordrecht and three hundred from Sluis, under one leader, marched to Tournay by way of Louvain and Namur.[1] Whoever joined in had to make clean shrift and refrain from all sin. No one could beg alms, but might receive them if offered; no one was allowed to sleep on a feather bed or under linen. They all wore high, pointed hats, with a brim bearing a red cross, and were barefooted. The only clothing allowed was a short mantle, and one long robe with a cross on front and back. In the right hand a scourge was carried. The scourging took place as follows: When a procession ar-

[1] Related by Gilles Li Musis. See Appendix, p. 390.

rived in a town, the participants stationed themselves on a meadow outside the gate, in the market-place, or in a large church. They then stripped themselves to the middle and lay down in a circle. At a given signal from the leader, the scourging began. The one struck first by the leader leaped up and followed him, lashing himself as he went. The others followed in turn until the whole circle had risen. The scourging was accompanied by a song in which the words occurred: "In Christ's honour, strike yourself. For God's sake, never sin again." When they were again clothed, a layman appeared with a letter as written by Christ himself and brought from heaven by an angel. Therein were found directions concerning penance to be performed and further advice about ways of averting the Black Death. Then they returned within the walls of the city, and went to church and afterwards to an inn. A flagellant procession of this kind lasted thirty-three or thirty-four days in memory of the thirty-three or thirty-four years of Jesus' life. Then the penance was accomplished.

Curiously enough these processions assumed an anti-clerical character. The clergy were reproved in the very pulpits by the penitents, who often made bold utterances in regard to the condition and doctrines of the church. For this reason the processions of flagellants were forbidden by the church.

About 1375, the pest increased and the floods were serious. Under the influence of the misery and excitement caused by these dreadful inflictions, another curious phenomenon appeared—a sect of dancers. The dancing rage spread like an epidemic from Aix and Cologne over Guelders, Liege, and Flanders. From village to village, from city to city, from church to church, danced a mad, vision-seeing crowd, decked with flowers. This movement was pronouncedly anti-clerical in character, and was condemned as heretical.

The charge of heresy was common. The beguins were, for example, not free from such charges, as they were often in opposition to the clergy, especially to the cloister-clergy. In 1311, Clement V. issued a bull against them which was again enforced in 1418 by Bishop Frederick of Utrecht. The great freedom of these beguinages was a thorn in the flesh of the convents. Still it could not be denied that many of the inmates led a pious, God-fearing life, and it became evident, after investigations by the bishops of Utrecht, Liege, and Cambrai, that the beguins were not as heretical as it might appear. The beguinages therefore remained in existence, although never regarded with favour by the clergy. They were endured rather than approved. The ease with which the term "heretic" was applied is illustrated in the story of Gerrit, or Geert, de Groote of Deventer. He was famous in his day as a persecutor of heresy, was called the "heretic hammer," and would have been surprised indeed to find his devoted followers branded as heretics scarcely twenty years after his death. The history of his efforts at reform in the end of the fourteenth century in the Sticht, is very interesting. Gerrit de Groote, born 1342, was the son of an eminent schepen of Deventer. When he had completed the course at the chapter school, he studied at Aix, Cologne, and Paris. At the last place he obtained the degree of *magister artium liberalium*, and ranked henceforth among the learned men of his time. He was noted for his many-sided knowledge, for his rhetorical and polemical skill, and was, moreover, handsome, and fond of luxury both in life and in dress.

He travelled widely, visiting Prague and Avignon, and spending some time at Cologne and Aix. Finally he settled down at Utrecht in the possession of a large income accruing from his paternal inheritance and from the several ecclesiastical benefices which had been bestowed on him in Utrecht, Aix, and elsewhere. The fashion of

life in the bishop's city was gay and careless. Gerrit joined in it, and for years troubled himself as little about religion as his brethren in orders. In 1374, a change came. The prior of the Carthusian cloister of Munnikhuizen at Arnhem led his thoughts in another direction. Gerrit withdrew to his house at Deventer and later to the Carthusian cloister, where he became a devoted follower of religious mysticism. Tauler and Ruysbroeck were his contemporaries, though somewhat his seniors. They had adopted mysticism as an antidote to the prevailing sins of the time. Mysticism, as they read it, was the absorption of self in the Absolute. It was the union of man with the Infinite.

Tauler was a Dominican monk, one of the most influential preachers of the first half of the century, and little known in the provinces, as his early field of labour was the upper Rhine. John of Ruysbroeck was a native of Brabant, and well known in the Netherlands as a prophet of mysticism. He left his position as first chaplain at St. Gudule in Brussels to enter the secluded cloister at Groenendael, where he died in 1381, aged ninety. His charming writings in the vernacular were composed at a monastery in the lonely forest of Sonien, where he was prior. He felt that he was inspired by a holy spirit as he wrote.

Ruysbroeck made vigorous attacks upon the abuses of the church, while he disliked the heresy of the "free spirits" with equal intensity. He preached the "contemplative life," and the "ascent in God" (*opgaan*), favourite phrases in convent parlance of the fifteenth century in the Netherlands. He absorbed himself in a mystic contemplation of Jesus as the divine bridegroom of the church, dreaming in zealous ecstasy of divine love. Especially in the ancient Bible narratives did he seek proofs of his doctrine, and succeeded in bringing, by precept and writing, many laymen and churchmen to a deeper sense

of religion. But he was by no means the first to unfurl the standard of mysticism in the Netherlands. As early as the thirteenth century the writings of one Sister Hadewijck pictured mystic love, and the sermons of the mystic preacher Bonaventure were widely read, while many of Maerlant's writings bear a distinctly mystical character. Much as Ruysbroeck disliked the "Free Spirits," their teachings were permeated with a strain very similar to his own. Gerrit de Groote was Ruysbroeck's warm personal friend. He was "the good holy man who came from Holland and stayed with the prior one, two, three months, and sometimes half a year," as the honest cook of Groenendael tells us. He translated several of Ruysbroeck's works from the vernacular into Latin, and ranks undeniably next to the famous mystic. It is probable, too, that he went farther than his master, especially during his stay in the cloister at Arnhem. But the Carthusians, recognising that he could do more good in public than in a secluded life, urged him to go out into the world as preacher, and he obeyed their bidding. In 1379, he returned to Deventer and established a house for maids who wished to devote themselves to God's service apart from the world. A director was chosen annually. This *Meester-Geertshuis*, or Master Gerard's House, was no cloister. The dwellers therein wore ordinary clothes, and promised nothing more than chastity and obedience to authority (*meestersche*). They earned their subsistence by handwork.

From Deventer as a starting-point, de Groote proceeded to travel as itinerant preacher throughout the Sticht after he had been consecrated as deacon; higher ecclesiastic dignity or priesthood he considered as undesirable for himself. The new Utrecht bishop, Floris of Wevelikhoven, a well intentioned man but lacking in force, at first allowed him to give his sermons freely without obtaining permission from the local pastors according to rule.

For about four years de Groote preached sermons that were direct appeals to sinners. The churches proved too small for the throng of hearers, drawn thither by the news of his coming. Clad in a simple garment, the traces of his own penance plainly visible, Gerrit made bold attacks from the pulpit on the sins of his contemporaries, especially of the clergy, and combated heresy vehemently wherever he thought he discovered it. He visited Holland, the Upper and Lower Sticht, and Guelders. Naturally, he drew a crowd of foes, as well as friends, around him. The mundane clergy hated the dreaded messenger who exposed their unclerical life, and that in the sharpest and most unequivocal terms. Soon the bishop allowed himself to be persuaded by his clergy to forbid all irregular preaching, thus including de Groote. The preacher protested, and applied to the pope for permission to continue his sermons, but he never received an answer to his fervent entreaty. While still expecting it, he died in 1384.

Before his death he was, however, able to give an impulse to an important movement destined to spread far and wide. It chanced that he employed several clerks at Deventer to copy books. Among these was one Floris, who had come thither out of reverence and love for the preacher. This Floris asked the master's permission to gather all the clerks into one house under his leadership, to live together on their earnings. Gerrit gave a rather hesitating assent, fearing to come into contact with the existing monastic orders. Thus the " brothers of common life " originated (1381 or 1382). They made no vows, lived like ordinary citizens in their *frater huis*, or brotherhood, and relieved their clerical labours by common prayer and common reading. After the suspension of his sermons, de Groote busied himself with the interests of these men. He arranged for their reception into the order of Ruysbroeck, a regular canonical order,

so as to protect them from inimical attacks, especially from the accusation of being *free spirits*.

His wish was only fulfilled in part. After his death, Floris Radewijnszoon remained at the head of the established fraternity house at Deventer as *Master Floris*, the centre of a circle of disciples, among whom John Brinckerinck and Gerard of Zutphen became the most distinguished. It was not until 1386 that Floris, following the master's wish, sought and obtained from the bishop permission to establish at Windesheim, near Zwolle, where two of the master's followers had large estates, a cloister of regular canons for some of his followers. This was done. The future inhabitants adopted the rules of the order chosen by them, and on October 17, 1387, the cloister of Windesheim was formally dedicated. Floris, however, remained in his Deventer establishment, and his friend, Hendrick Klingebijl, was the first prior of the new one. The two institutions, the fraternity house, or *frater huis*, and the cloister of regular canons at Windesheim continued in close relation with each other. The severer life in the cloister was not suited for everyone, and although many brothers appeared in time at Windesheim, the two institutions were kept distinct from each other, only united by a common spirit, — the spirit of the great founder. The cloister protected, as it were, the freer institution of the fraternity house, while it was, in turn, protected by the order in which it was comprised. Both saplings developed in the course of the fifteenth century into vigorous trees.

Gradually there were formed in various North Netherland cities a great number of brotherhoods and sisterhoods on the model of the one at Deventer. This took place very slowly and gradually at first, on account of the opposition among the mendicant monks to these Gerardines, "*these religious folk without religion.*" Then, after the council of Constance (1418) had expressly re-

cognised their right of existence, they increased very rapidly. The greatest activity, however, was in the fifteenth century. At the end of the fourteenth century, certain sisterhoods had a vigorous contest with Eylard Schoeneveld, appointed by the pope as inquisitor of Saxony. The establishments of this kind, which owed their origin to the inspiration of Wermbold of Boskoop, a friend and sympathiser of de Groote and Floris Radewijnsz., were seriously accused of heresy. Wermbold travelled as itinerant preacher through Holland and Utrecht, and established sisterhoods which came under his jurisdiction as rector of the convent at Utrecht. He and his followers only escaped persecution as heretics through the intervention of the then bishop of Utrecht, Frederick of Blankenheim. One result of these persecutions was that a majority of the Gerardines went over to the third order of St. Francis so as to be able to live in peace as *tertiaries*. In the fifteenth century, these were to be found in nearly all the cities of North Netherland.

On the other hand, too, the Windesheim circle developed. As the famous Thomas à Kempis says: "From the sermons of Master Gerard sprang a tree that after his death continued to give forth offshoots and to bear fruit in the Lord's garden. First to the neighbouring lands, Holland and Guelders and Brabant; then to the distant parts of Flanders, Westphalia, and Saxony, this regular order, the association of the pious, was speedily extended under God's blessing." In 1394, Mariënborn at Arnhem, Nieuwlicht at Hoorn, Eemstein at Dordrecht, formed, under the leadership of Windesheim, the kernel of an association which, thirty years later, embraced thirty cloisters from Groenendael at Brussels and Elzingen at Oudenard to Ezinge in East Friesland and Bodingen in Bergsland. Under the leadership of men like Brinckerinck, Vos, Thomas à Kempis, Johannes

Busch, and a number of others, these orders spread through the Netherlands and the neighbouring provinces of Westphalia and Saxony with a spirit of devotion that wrought much good.

While these intellectual agitations affected the community, a new ruler was put over the Sticht, Frederick of Blankenheim, former bishop of Strasburg. After the death of Floris (1393), there had been great rivalry between the candidates supported respectively by Guelders and by Holland. The former triumphed, and Frederick was escorted to his see by William of Guelders at the head of a large force. The new bishop soon displayed an energetic character and proceeded to strengthen the weakened political power of his office. His first step was to take vigorous measures to suppress the arrogant pretensions of the powerful nobles. For generations the lords of Coevorden had borne themselves like independent sovereigns in their estates and set episcopal authority at naught. When Frederick became bishop, he found Reinald IV. of Coevorden in open hostility to the see. His claims are somewhat obscure, as documents are lacking, but there is frequent mention of a *pandbrief*, or mortgage, by virtue of which he urged his authority. Finally the bishop asked and obtained help from the large cities to raise an army to subdue him. Reinald called the Bronkhorsts of Guelders and the Vetkoopers of Friesland to his aid, besides Albert of Holland, and made a brave fight, but the bishop's siege of Coevorden was successful. Reinald was forced to acquiesce in the sale of his seignory (August 14, 1395), and was taken as a prisoner to Hardenberg. Shortly after this, the bishop received homage from Drenthe, which Reinald had treated as his own, and pledged himself to appoint no castillan of Coevorden or official of Drenthe without the approval of the three cities of Overyssel and of Drenthe. From this time, Drenthe and Coevorden were under the jurisdiction of the Sticht, in

spite of protests from Guelders and Holland and from the Vetkoopers of Friesland.

One important service rendered by Frederick was the reduction to writing of the laws of Drenthe (1412). Up to this date they had been handed down by word of mouth. The right of free assembly to discuss matters appertaining to the land was an important feature of this *landrecht*, or national law. The people could come together in any one of the villages of Baloo, Rolde, or Anloo, to hold a public meeting, while it was permissible for the peasants to assemble in any one of the six *dingspels*, the ancient under-countships, or districts in each parish, in each neighbourhood, to settle all affairs of common interest. The three appointed court days, the *luttingen*, were shortly after Easter, at Whitsuntide, and St. Magnus (August 19), and these remained in usage. The college of twenty-four *etten*,[1] a kind of law-giving popular assembly, was chosen annually by the bishop or his representative and the community of Drenthe. The chief official of the district was the episcopal *amptman* (later called *drost*), who was chosen from the natives. This was also true of his subordinates, the *schulten* and under-*schulten*, in the parishes. The amptman presided in the assemblies of the *etten* and over the episcopal revenues. The chief part of the revenues were the fines and the smoke pence due to the sovereign. The latter consisted of two Groningen pence for every house whence smoke issued. The national law, or *landrecht*, was preëminent, with its ancient penalties and usages for the maintenance of justice and law, especially of house peace. It was, indeed, full of the old Germanic spirit, which makes it very interesting in legal history.

The people of Drenthe living under this law, far from their ruler, who was, moreover, not strong, enjoyed a de-

[1] Etten, *jurati* or confederates. The word is allied either with *eid*, an oath, Frisian, *eth* or with *atta*, father. The former is the more probable.

gree of freedom not attained in any other region. *Etten* and *haghelsprake*, or open-air assemblies, were elements of popular rights of self-government which had quite disappeared in the other provinces, and would, indeed, have had little significance in a territory where the ruler was strong. Here the inhabitants themselves had their say as judges in *ding*, *goorsprake*, and *rocht*, under the leadership of *drost* and *schulte*. Three times a year was the *drost* in each parish bound to hold a *ding*, or day of judgment. The *goorsprake*, or gosprake, was probably the ancient *geboden ding*, summoned in extraordinary circumstances. The *rocht*, or *leege bank*, petty court, was held by the *schulte* in his parish where and when he found it necessary, usually on the square or market-place of the town. Two elect, *keurnooten*, assisted the *schulte*. They were always natives of the mark in question.

Thus Drenthe existed in the midst of her broad moors, in her lonely villages, whose oaks and thickets, whose heaths and meadows, were still regulated by the mark usages of the earlier inhabitants. There were no imperious overlords, no nobles, petty kings on their own estates, —no powerful clergy, no city absorbed in her mercantile interests alone, to influence the conditions here. The bishop tried to force the city of Groningen to do him homage. The inhabitants, like those of Drenthe, had, long since, ceased to trouble themselves about their overlord. Even after the subjection of the territory, they remained virtually independent, although, originally, the city had been nothing more than the capital of the land of Drenthe.

Duke Albert of Holland began to play a part, about this time, in the domestic affairs of both Friesland and Groningen, and to aid the anti-episcopal parties. Frederick laid siege to Groningen, but was forced to withdraw after a short siege. In the succeeding years his hands

were too full with other matters to take up the question again. There was confusion in every corner of the little state.

The ancient Utrecht parties—now the Lichtenbergers and Lokhorsts, now the Brederodes and Gaasbeeks, also called Hooks and Cods—were more or less involved in the Holland quarrels, especially in 1413, when the city of Utrecht was in a state of confusion. A number of Lichtenbergers fled and took refuge in Holland, and William really exercised more influence in the city than the bishop. Consequently Utrecht was dragged into the civil war which harassed Holland in the first years of the fifteenth century. This state of affairs continued during the troubled reign of Jacqueline. The bishop did not succeed in being master in his own see, and episcopal authority fell very low. On the other hand, he succeeded in taking the fortress and city of Nijenhuis into his possession, and thus making the Vecht his boundary (1418). In general, the Upper Sticht remained faithful. Finally, in May, 1419, Frederick reduced Groningen to obedience, and the city paid homage to him.

During this period of constant strife, the sufferings of both town and peasants in the country districts of the Sticht were indescribable. A cry of despair comes to us again and again from contemporaneous sources. "In the spring," so runs one chronicle,[1] "when the roads began to dry and the land was passable on foot and on horseback," troops appeared on the border and plundered to their hearts' content, "so that poor folk on both sides were sorely afflicted."

The death of the octogenarian bishop, in 1423, passed almost unnoticed by the majority of his subjects. The recluses of Windesheim were almost the only mourners for their protector, "the father of the faithful, the friend of the pious," whose lifetime they vaunted as their golden

[1] *Matth. Anal.*, iii., 403.

age. Possibly it was a golden era for the Windesheim congregation, or even for the Upper Sticht, where there was reason to rejoice over the restoration of episcopal authority in Drenthe and Groningen, but for the Lower Sticht the later half of Frederick's troubled incumbency was a dreary iron age. The bishop's death-bed plaint, that everyone wished to rule and none would obey, tells the whole story.

After his death, there was a violent contest about the vacant see. The pope, Martin V., rejected all the candidates offered, availed himself of a privilege frequently asserted during the past century and a half, and appointed Rhabanus of Speyer. He refused the office, and recommended Zweder van Kuilenburg, a rival to Rudolph of Osnabrück, the candidate preferred by nobles, by the chief cities, and by the duke of Cleves. Zweder added pecuniary bribes to his petition for papal recognition, and was finally installed at Utrecht (August, 1425) after a two-years' interim.

This was the beginning of a tumultuous epoch for the unfortunate city. The new bishop was forced into seeking aid from Philip of Burgundy and Arnold of Guelders (1426). Rudolph, backed by the Overysselers and Lichtenbergers in the Lower Sticht, succeeded in taking Utrecht by surprise, and was acknowledged ruward, while a hope was cherished that the pope would remove Zweder. A year later, a portion of the clergy recognised Rudolph as *postulate bishop*, and thus arose the disastrous Utrecht schism.

Under these circumstances, the Burgundian was the great firebrand. It was his interest to drive Rudolph with his Hook followers from the Sticht and to strengthen his own influence in the state by making Zweder and his Cod friends secure. The whole diocese became the prey of these civil quarrels in the hands of foreigners. Troops from Guelders and Holland ravaged and plundered and

burned as before. Hooks and Cods, Lichtenbergers and Kuilenburgers had constant encounters. In 1427, the three estates of Utrecht on both sides of the Yssel determined to take matters into their own hands. They issued an eloquent appeal to princes and lords, to the clergy and commons of Christendom, demanding a council to redress the injustice done them by the pope in case he persisted in his refusal to grant them justice.

This document is noteworthy both from its contents and from the very fact of its presentation, which shows an increasing independence on the part of the people. Especially the " burgomasters, rulers, and governors of the city and other towns of Utrecht " came to the fore. They proudly name themselves " those whose duty it is to take measures to remedy the existing and future evils according to our power."

They made a definite statement of their complaints against Zweder, his simony, tyranny, alienation of property, in which the people of Overyssel and the Lower Sticht united and demanded redress, and implored the council to aid them against the pope who had set a dire foe over them.

After two years, the war with Guelders came to an end. Philip of Burgundy made a truce, followed by a definite treaty in 1430, but Zweder maintained his pretensions, in spite of all opposition, until his death in 1433, after Rudolph had already been recognised by the new pope, Eugenius IV.

But the evil caused by the Utrecht schism lived long after him. The anathema pronounced by the pope had affected the clergy in all sections of the diocese. Many paid no attention to it, but others, both clergy and laymen, experienced a certain insecurity from being under the ban of the legally appointed prince of the church. A great confusion in ecclesiastical matters arose throughout the whole north. In some cases the clergy retained

their offices, in others abandoned them. Here they remained in the city, there they fled. Here they abode by the ban published by Zweder, there they ignored its existence; here Zweder's followers were driven out, and there they remained peacefully in office.

In the Sticht itself chaos reigned. The good brothers and sisters of the "Common Life" held firm to Zweder, as he had been duly installed by the pope, and on that account were banished in 1426 by the magistrates of Deventer and Zwolle. They took refuge in Zutphen, Doesburg, and Arnhem, under the protection of the duke of Guelders. The same thing happened at Utrecht. The recluses of the Windesheim congregation were unable to protect themselves against persecutions as they had done in the time of the council of Constance. They, too, were obliged to take refuge in neighbouring convents which adhered to Zweder, in Bentheim, in Holland and Guelders, in Friesland. There was no improvement in this state of affairs until 1432. Then a papal legate, despatched by Eugene IV. to establish order, appeared at Vianen, and raised both ban and interdict. Clergy and monks speedily returned to their places. After the death of Zweder, the legate finally recognised Rudolph, and the latter made his official entry into Utrecht in 1433 after he had received papal confirmation as bishop. Even Philip of Burgundy recognised the prince of the church whom he had fought against so long.

But order was not really established permanently. Zweder's supporters feared Rudolph, and the canons among them elected another candidate, Walraven of Meurs, brother of the archbishop of Cologne and the bishop of Münster. As a consequence of a new quarrel between Pope Eugene and the council of Basel, the bishop-elect found support from the latter and from its many adherents at home. The pope forthwith issued a ban against Walraven and his followers; the majority of the higher clergy

of the Sticht refused to acknowledge him, while the Estates declared that they supported them; Philip of Burgundy would not hear of Walraven. He was finally obliged to leave Holland, where he had originally found his strongest support, and take refuge in Arnhem with the duke of Guelders. Nor was he able to maintain his pretensions long. Once, indeed, when Rudolph had an open quarrel with the city of Utrecht (1447), it seemed as though Walraven had some slight chance. But finally, after this quarrel was pacified and the death of the bishop of Münster had opened new possibilities, he consented to a conference with his opponents. His election as bishop of Münster in July, 1450, accomplished with Rudolph's aid, put an end to the twenty-five years' schism of the Utrecht church.

Bishop Rudolph, however, did not end his days in peace, for he undertook a war in aid of his former rival in Münster. The war, very burdensome for the bishop, already exhausted by long quarrels, brought about a violent altercation with his subjects, especially with the canons of Utrecht, who refused to agree to an extraordinary taxation imposed on all the ecclesiastical property of the Sticht. In 1455, in the midst of this unpleasantness, Rudolph died.

In the later years of his government, he saw the Burgundian influence in the Sticht greatly increased. After his death, Philip tried to obtain the bishopric for his illegitimate son David, to whom Arnold of Guelders opposed his *protégé*, Stephen of Bavaria. The canons passed over both and elected Gijsbrecht of Brederode, the cathedral provost, a pious and learned man. This election was, naturally, not to the mind of the Burgundian. He had taken Gijsbrecht into his council, but was not pleased at seeing him rise quite so high, offspring as he was of an old Hook family. He succeeded in persuading the pope, Calixtus III., who just then needed all possible aid for a

crusade, to reject the election and approve David's appointment.

The diocese was fiercely indignant at this shameful nomination of a bastard, who, moreover, would bring the province under Burgundian influence. But Burgundian gold was as efficient at Utrecht as at Rome when backed up by Burgundian power, and so David won the day. Gijsbrecht, to be sure, entered upon the government as elect, and tried to reconcile the parties who threatened a new civil conflict, but, in the spring of 1456, Philip invaded the Sticht with an army of thirty thousand men. Gijsbrecht prepared to meet them, aided by the States of his provinces. These promised to obey him until the appointment of a new bishop. The city of Utrecht especially was very anti-Burgundian, and the guilds armed themselves anew against the Lichtenberger party. Under the command of the duke and his valiant son Charles, the Burgundian army overcame all opposition and triumphantly took one place after another for David. Gijsbrecht, placed under the papal ban, was forced to yield, and on August 6th the Burgundian bastard made a triumphal entry into Utrecht, and was conducted to the episcopal throne by Gijsbrecht. Thereupon, the army passed over the Veluwe to the Upper Sticht and beleaguered Deventer, determined to resist, powerfully backed as it was by the other great cities across the Yssel. But here, too, Burgundian influence was too strong. The attack on Deventer was averted, but the city was obliged to recognise David. A month after his father's retreat, he received homage from it, and then from Kampen, Zwolle, Drenthe, and Groningen. He swore to maintain all their privileges. Soon the last hindrance to his universal recognition was removed, and, in 1459, the pope granted a dispensation for his illegitimate birth in consideration of a large sum of money.

The Sticht was thus included in the Netherland pro-

vinces where the Burgundian influence was supreme. The States, to be sure, had made themselves felt in the time of Rudolph of Diepholt, but they found themselves powerless against the waxing power of Burgundy, which had annihilated the popular influence wherever they were strong.

It was to be expected that the secularisation of the Sticht in favour of the dynasty would not long be delayed, especially as the neighbouring Guelders had yielded to the same power. As a matter of fact, it was little more than half a century before the Sticht was completely under the control of Burgundy.

CHAPTER IV

GUELDERS BEFORE THE BURGUNDIAN PERIOD

THE battle of Woeringen proved a crushing disaster for Guelders.[1] Reinald I. retrieved the family fortunes by marrying Margaret, daughter of Guy of Flanders, as the Flemish count was ready to render valuable aid to his son-in-law, though not without recompense. The price was heavy. Reinald mortgaged the total revenues of the countship for a period of five years in consideration of a sum of ready money to enable him to pay off the heavy debts incurred by his defeat and captivity. It is not clear just how this mortgage to Flanders was regulated. Apparently, Guelders was administered for a time by a Flemish stadtholder, and Count Reinald absolved his subjects from allegiance to him for five years. At last, possibly as early as 1293, before the expiration of the appointed time, the people enabled their count to free himself from all obligations to his father-in-law. Probably this was the first instance of a so-called *pond schatting*, or tribute, paid by the Guelders people.

Limburg was lost, and the government over Friesland east of the Vlie, granted by Rudolph, was slight compensation, as the count was hindered from exercising his function there by the state of his home affairs. It must be remembered that it was only the governorship, the administration, which was presented to the count in the emperor's name. This gift was repeated by successive

[1] 1288. See Part I., p. 155.

sovereigns, and always to little advantage to the recipients of the donation. Neither exhortation of emperor or clergy could induce the Frisians to acknowledge Reinald or any of his successors as their sovereign.

Nevertheless Guelders remained more dependent on the imperial house than any other Netherland province, and Reinald I. was powerless to shake off the bondage, even after the fall of the Hohenstaufen. The defeat of 1288 had so lamed his resources that he could not take advantage of the confusion in Germany to make good his rights. He obtained from Adolph of Nassau the privilege of being succeeded by his female descendants in Guelders in default of male heirs. On the other hand, he could not lay a highway between Arnhem and Nimwegen without permission from Henry VII. The toll at Lobith and the right of mintage in Guelders were under the control of the German sovereign. In 1310, Henry rescinded privileges previously granted to the cities without imperial approbation, and Reinald was forced to accede to his action at the time. Two years later, the privileges were renewed, but their retraction is a proof of the count's lack of independence. No ruler of Holland, Utrecht, or Brabant would have submitted to such pretensions of royal power. Nor was Reinald disposed to endure it quietly.

A contest arose between Louis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria over the imperial crown. Reinald at once offered the latter his daughter in marriage and his own support. Frederick gladly accepted both propositions, gave him the rank of imperial prince, and renounced all rights in his domain (1317). Louis never formally recognised this agreement, but he had to accept it. Reinald, and later his son and successor, extended this authority over many a district formerly independent, as, for example, Montfort on the Meuse. Nevertheless his power remained weak, and toward the end of his reign Reinald found himself forced to abdicate. His

health had failed, he was subject to attacks of insanity, and his subjects began to grow discontented with his rule and to urge the accession of his son. The old prince, too, had mismanaged his revenues. He had endowed churches and convents besides living in luxury. At the same time he had improved matters by instituting a treasurer, or chancellor of the exchequer. But his failings were remembered rather than his virtues, and his own son headed the party of merchants who clamoured for his abdication. They reckoned on assistance from a strong Flemish party which had existed since Guelders had been mortgaged to Flanders.

The quarrel between father and son lasted almost two years. The son was aided by his mother, Margaret of Flanders, and was able to count upon the support of the major part of his subjects. Only a very few cities, as Arnhem and Wageningen, together with a few nobles, held true to the old count. The son was virtual ruler of a great part of the land, and met his father's supporters with force of arms. Arbiters were appointed, but were unable to agree. Finally, William III. of Holland, in conjunction with the chief nobles and cities of Guelders, succeeded in re-establishing peace. The revenues of the countship were to be managed by officers appointed by William III., the nobles, and cities. Large sums were to be paid over to the count's family, and no portion of Guelders was to be alienated. William III. was empowered to ascertain the true mental condition of the old count, and to invest his son with his dignities if he were proved of unsound mind. In the autumn of 1318, the matter appears to have been decided in favour of the young prince. At least it was he who exercised sovereign rights in December of that year, with the approval of his mother and sisters. The old count was imprisoned at Montfort for eight years. As "Son of the Count," Reinald II. ruled during his father's captivity.

The reign of this second Reinald (1318–1343) was very important for Guelders, especially when after the death of his first wife, the rich heiress of Mechlin, he married Eleanor, sister of Edward III. of England. With this connection and through his close alliance with his old protector, William of Holland and Hainaut, who possibly negotiated the marriage, Guelders became a link in the chain which bound the Netherland princes to England. In 1339, through the mediation of Edward III. and the English party, Reinald obtained from Emperor Frederick the title of duke of Guelders. It was the consummation of what Frederick of Austria had once promised his father. At the same time the unlimited right of coinage and all other sovereign privileges were bestowed on Reinald, besides the *Rijkswald*, or imperial forest, that he had received with other forests in 1331 as an imperial fief from the count of Cleves. Thus the elevation of Guelders to a duchy was more than a simple increase of titular dignity. Reinald II. became sovereign in fact, like his neighbours of Holland and of the Sticht. The splendour of his dignity was increased by the institution in Guelders of four hereditary court officers, court-marshal, court-chamberlain, court cup-bearer and court-steward, or *erfdrost*, which titles were bestowed on certain high nobles of Guelders. In other ways, too, did Reinald II. magnify his authority. In 1326, he bought the important countship of Kessel across the Meuse from the impoverished family. Eight years later he ended the long contention with Brabant about Heusden and Tiel by a renunciation of his claims to the former in consideration of his acquisition of the latter, together with Zandwijk and Heerewaarden. After a war with Münster about the possession of the lordship of Loon, Reinald received the fortress of Bredevoort as well as Aalten, Winterswijk, and Dinxperloo in mortgage. In short, he succeeded in acquiring

extensive territory by purchase or conquest. In other respects, too, his reign was memorable. Better dikes were made, no superfluous luxury, as is evident from the fact that in August, 1343, the duke sailed over the flooded country from Arnhem to Nimwegen. He had waste lands cleaned and turf-bogs exploited. He gave away or sold much of the common ground in the Veluwe, which had probably once been mark land, and had lapsed into the possession of the sovereign on the extinction of the ancient mark communities (*markgenootschappen.*) On the other hand, certain regions, called *commons* (*gemeenten*), marks (*marken*), lord's fields (*heerenvelden*, *hengemunden*[1]), were again made common property of the adjacent villages. Other common ground—forests and heaths—were divided, fenced in, and trenched.

His chaplain, steward, and counsel, Jan Moliard, provost of Arnhem, is recognised as the promoter of these undertakings whereby royal revenues were increased by more than half, while material advantages accrued to the people, and immigrants from less fortunate regions were attracted to Guelders. The Veluwe especially was improved and cultivated where virgin forests had stretched to the very gates of Arnhem and Zutphen.

Harderwijk, mentioned as a merchant city as early as the thirteenth century, availed itself of its position on the Zuyder Zee, then in good communication with the North Sea, to extend its commerce along the shores of the Baltic. The friendly relations with the English king furthered trade with England and Flanders. Next to Elburg it was the most important port of Guelders. Zutphen and Nimwegen, too, had some share in the Baltic trade as well as Arnhem and other places in the region of the Rhine. We still possess a reckoning of the tolls collected at Lobith in 1306, from which it appears that at that date 1750 ships paid toll to the count.

[1] A name still unexplained.

If it be considered that certain cities of Guelders and in the adjacent regions enjoyed freedom from toll, and that in that same year about 80 ships from Zutphen and 117 from Arnhem passed by, it will probably not be an exaggeration to rate the entry at Lobith as 2500 ships. This traffic is perfectly explicable. The Rhine was still the great highway from western Germany to the sea. The products of the Rhine region, fruits, wine, butter, cheese, ironstone, and pottery were all carried past Lobith. On the other hand, the Guelders people, with other merchants from Holland and the Sticht, brought French wines and herring from the Baltic, salt fish from the North Sea, nuts, Flemish cloth, grains, etc., for the Rhineland.

It is not very surprising that we find frequent mention in the histories of this time of Jews and Lombards. They were the moneyed men of those days, the bankers and changers, spread over all Europe, often united into companies. They were, indeed, to be found wherever commerce existed. The cities, steadily increasing in power and reputation, were also money-lenders, and borrowed for the prince and his nobles. They confirmed treaties, put their seal on privileges and marriage contracts of the princely families. In the civil war between Reinald II. and his father they played an important part. The country received from Reinald new privileges of land and dike. In 1327 he improved the old union (*eening*) of the drained region of Bommel and Tiel, and bestowed a code, or *landrecht*, on the Betuwe proper. In the following year, he gave the same code to the Meuse and Waal and to the district near Mook.

The union for the Bommel and Tiel districts seems to have been one of the oldest codes of Guelders, and to date from the first half of the thirteenth century. It was valid for the places subject to the count in these regions, but not for Brabantine Tiel, or for the estates of Hedel,

Asperen, etc. Bommel, or Zout Bommel, as it was then called, was the capital, and enjoyed its own laws, possibly dating from 1233. The count's officer had his seat there, and administered justice according to the sentence of the schepens, sixteen in number. Half of these were elected from the city of Bommel, according to the stipulations in the code of 1327. Half the number of schepens were renewed annually. The new ones were elected by those whose term had just expired, together with the amptman, or count's officer. Further, the *eening* Law regulated the payment of fines and the share due to the princes, but did not affect the customary law then in vogue.

The laws of the Betuwe, divided into upper and lower Betuwe, was similar. The judge of upper Betuwe administered justice (*besat syn heemstede*) at Bommel and Andel, that of lower Betuwe at Kesteren and Zoden. They were at the same time dike counts, and charged with the inspection of the dikes, a duty shared by five *dike reeves*. Petty cases were decided, as in the Bommel region, by the *dagelixen*, or village judge, in accordance with the ancient unwritten usage. Dike laws for the whole territory between the Rhine and the Meuse regulated the important duties of the supervision of the dikes. Very important, too, is the privilege given by Reinald II. in 1328 to the colonists in the *Nieuwbroek* on the Veluwe near Hottem. The prince granted the swamp and all the wilderness to two persons who promised to clear it all on consideration of an annual fixed payment (six pounds) for every farm of sixteen acres and the "tenth of all seed that is sown therein and of all beasts bred thereon."

The law was to be administered by a judge and seven schepens, the former appointed by the count and the latter chosen annually by the peasants. There were detailed stipulations in regard to fines for various misdeeds. The

judicial duel was forbidden, the right of heritage confirmed, and it was stipulated that no portion of an estate need to be ceded to the prince. On the transfer of a farm, two pounds were due the prince from both purchaser and seller. The dikes were to be built and repaired at the cost of the inhabitants, *mergen mergen gelycke*, so also with canals and sluices. In regard to the church, the colonists were at liberty to make the first appointment of a suitable priest, later the right was vested in the sovereign. The first colonist, a certain Jan Verbertenzoon, probably a Hollander from his name, received eight farms free from rental, taxes, and tithes, to be selected out of the whole swamp. It was also stipulated that every newly built house should pay one hen yearly, that the inhabitants might use the neighbouring undivided ground on the Veluwe, peat and heather land, to dig out the turf, to take the sod, to mow the heath, and to pasture cattle; that the unfree should remain unfree; that the inhabitants should give the sovereign military service; finally that they should be exempt from further imposts. By means of these privileges and stipulations, the colonists were placed in a better position than the peasants in the older districts of the land, and colonisation was encouraged.

On the whole, Reinald II.'s reign was very peaceful for the times. He was not, of course, free from war. Besides the feud with Brabant and Münster, he was involved in several others in Flanders and Liege as the ally of Edward III., but they were of minor importance. He obtained great influence in the Sticht as a result of the misrule of the bishop, John of Diest, who mortgaged Salland, Twente, and Vollenhove to him in 1336. Guelders was in possession of this district for ten years. Reinald was not in a position to maintain his rights in Friesland completely, although he frequently severely punished the Stellingwervers for their raids in Salland. The darkest

shadow over his reign was cast by his quarrels with his father in the early years and with his wife Eleanor in the later part. In the ancient chronicles of Guelders, the latter quarrel is related very dramatically. Eleanor, separated from her husband on account of alleged leprosy, is said to have appeared, clad in nothing but a single silken garment, leading her two little sons by the hand, at a banquet in the fortress at Nimwegen, where the duke sat with his friends. She came to show that the accusation was unjust. There, before all, so runs the story, she threw aside the slight clothing that she wore, and solemnly declared, pointing to her children, that a time might come when Guelders would long for more descendants from the ducal blood than these two. "And alas," add the chronicles, "this was fulfilled in later times. For, from the birth of young Edward in 1336, to that of Adolph, Arnold's son, in 1439, one hundred and three years passed by in which the dukes of Guelders were not natives."

The later writers regarded the early death of the duke as a punishment for the injustice to his wife. "Black" Reinald died suddenly in 1343, leaving two minor sons, Reinald and Edward. At his death, the finances of the duchy were at a low ebb, as a result of the extravagance and the wars of the first duke. These financial difficulties were the more embarrassing from the fact that the succession was not secure. There were not only the two sons of the second marriage, but also three daughters from the first who seemed to have some rightful claim on the duchy from the provisions of their mother's marriage settlement. Of these three daughters, two were married, the eldest, Machteld, to the lord of Millen, and the youngest, Maria, to the Margrave of Jülich; the third was the abbess of the convent at Gravendaal, and thus was out of the succession. No formal protest was made by the sisters, however, for the time being. Reinald III. succeeded his

father, backed up by the " united " cities of Guelders, who solemnly acknowledged him on December 1, 1343, " because there are many parties, numerous and strong, in the country." [1] Shortly after this, Eleanor assumed the government in behalf of her son and carried it on in conjunction with the nobles and cities.

A kinsman of the ducal family, Dirk of Valkenburg, was appointed supreme judge of the duchy. This distinguished Limburg nobleman, also lord of Voorne and burggrave of Zealand, appears to have disputed the regency with Eleanor at first, and thus to have caused the origin of a partisanship mentioned at the death of Reinald II. William IV. of Holland reconciled Dirk and Eleanor and at the age of twelve the youthful prince himself assumed the reins of government.

Probably he ruled under the direction of the Holland count, certainly with the help of his council, among whom we find Jan van Groesbeek as steward. New difficulties soon arose owing to the immaturity of the prince, and perhaps still more to the death of the count of Holland in September, 1345. Reinald was summoned to Calais by his uncle, Edward III. of England. He appeared there accompanied by a large number of his nobles, but it was soon evident that the English prince had no intention of letting his young nephew depart until he had allied himself closely with England. The government of Guelders was given to Edward's ally, Margrave William of Jülich. The prime question was whether the young duke would range himself on the French side by a marriage with Mary of Brabant, or strengthen the English alliance by a marriage with a Jülich princess. In the meanwhile, he was an absentee, the government in Guelders was unsteady, and the duchy became the theatre of violent quarrels and feuds. Dirk van Meurs had attracted a party of lawless nobles around him at Didam, and levied

[1] *Want voel partyen, groet ende sterke, nu in den lande sijn.*

blackmail[1] on the surrounding country. The Bronkhorsts, established in the territories of Zutphen and Batenburg, were at variance with the Hekerens from the Berkel district. The party feeling between these two families ran high, especially as the sovereign was an absentee and practically a prisoner.

Reinald finally escaped secretly from the English camp at Calais, and fled to Brabant, where he married Mary in July, 1347, and shortly afterwards returned to his own realm.

His independent reign began inauspiciously. His debts forced him to seek help from his cities and wealthy nobles, a step that involved him in embarrassments, while he did not succeed in keeping free from the quarrels between Gijsbrecht of Bronkhorst and Frederick of Hekeren. The relation between the parties and the difficulties after the death of Reinald II. cannot, from the lack of contemporaneous records, be unravelled but it is clear that they manifest the same characteristics as the quarrels of the Cods and Hooks in Holland, as those of the Lichtenbergers and their enemies in the Sticht, the Schieringers and Vetkoopers in Friesland, who all existed at the same period. Similar conditions, the result of virtual anarchy, incited similar troubles everywhere, and it is a notable phenomenon that the various parties find their counterparts in the various provinces. That is, the Hooks correspond to the Bronkhorsts and Vetkoopers ; the Cods to the Hekerens, Schieringers, and Lichtenbergers. Family connexions, personal sympathies of the leaders, similarity in their demands, were the general causes of this coöperation. Then, too, the French and English war played a part in these affairs. The Hook-Bronkhorst party inclined to the English, the Cod-Hekeren party to the French alliance. In 1349, Reinald joined the Hekeren party,

[1] The term *brandschatten* was applied to levying forced contributions from unwilling donors.

to which belonged the lords of Arkel on the borders of Holland, the Van Voorsts on the edge of Overyssel, the Van Valkenburgs in the Brabant-Limburg territory, and the Van Kuilenburgs on the borders of Utrecht. The Bronkhorsts, on their part, sought aid from the margrave of Jülich and from Count Engelbert de la Mark, and finally, too, from Edward of Guelders, the cadet of the ducal house.

In accordance with the ancient feudal law, this Edward had no share in the feudal property of his father, which passed to the eldest son, but he did have a right to certain hereditary family estates, and claimed a portion as appanage, apparently the land of Zutphen. In this way a considerable territory was alienated from the duchy; a serious loss, as the neighbouring Veluwe was the widow's dowry of the Duchess Eleanor, who also possessed many estates in upper Betuwe. The quarrels about these conflicting claims did not break out until 1350. The Hekerens supported Reinald ; the Bronkhorsts, Edward and his mother. Soon the feud raged fiercely through the whole realm, and lasted for eleven years with occasional intermissions. Some cities declared for Reinald and some for Edward. Treaties were frequently made, but the cessation of hostilities was of brief duration. Cities and villages were burned, castles besieged and destroyed, and land laid waste. Other troubles, too, afflicted the land. The "black death" raged in Guelders, while failure of crops and devastating floods wrought serious damage.

Reinald at last took advantage of the disaffection of the lower classes and their revolt against the tyranny of the nobles. In 1354, the peasants of the Veluwe were declared wholly free, and the immediate result of their disfranchisement was that, in a brief time, universal confusion prevailed in the region. The freedmen of the Veluwe cooled their hatred, cherished through centuries,

upon the nobles' estates along the edge of the Veluwe, and robbed and plundered to their hearts' content. At last the lord of Bronkhorst took arms against them, and subdued them after a valiant resistance at the foot of the Vrijenberg, which takes its name from them. The disturbance was not confined to Guelders. The neighbouring princes repeatedly took part in the war. The margrave of Jülich, the counts of Meuse and of Mark espoused Edward's cause, who was also aided by Bishop John of Arkel. In 1357, thanks to the new duke of Jülich, Edward was recognised as duke of Guelders. On the other hand, Reinald counted on the help of the count of Cleves and his ally the bishop of Münster, and finally on that of William of Bavaria and Holland.

Edward, however, met with success. In 1353, Reinald was forced to recognise his brother as master (*overste meister*) and as guardian, or *momber*, of the duchy for seven years. That is, he virtually resigned the reins of government and received but an income for himself. To be sure, he revoked this resignation a year later, but he was at a disadvantage in the new war that ensued, and was in the end forced to content himself with the Veluwe, which had reverted to the duchy at the death of Eleanor. At the same time there is mention of a national council appointed from the two parties. These quarrels were very injurious to commerce, and in self-defence the cities attempted to effect a reconciliation by their mediation. Twice, in 1355 and in 1358, this was successful, and finally an arbitration court was established, in which eight schepens from the four chief cities and two nobles had their seats. This court of arbitration appointed a new *landraad*, or council of nobles, chosen from both parties, who were to aid Edward as governor and Reinald in the administration of the Veluwe. A peace made in 1359 between the two brothers and the count of Cleves promised to establish tranquillity. The plan

failed, however, and in the following year both parties were again at variance.

In 1360, the governorship of Edward expired. He was oblige to reinstate his brother in the government and to withdraw to his own estates of Montfort. His retirement was brief, for his friends at Tiel and Nimwegen soon raised the standard of rebellion anew. Edward's former adherents among the nobles allied themselves to the townsfolk, and on May 25, 1361, a decisive battle was fought under the walls of Tiel. Reinald and some of his party leaders were taken prisoners, while many of the flower of the nobility were left lying on the field. The duke abdicated, and accompanied his brother on a formal progress through the duchy, when the subjects were absolved from their oath of fealty to Reinald. When this act was performed, the ex-duke was confined in the castle of Rosendaal, later in that of Nijenbeek, near Zutphen.

Thus Edward became duke of Guelders, a title he bore honourably for ten years, held in respect by his neighbours and his subjects. He helped the bishop of Utrecht against the ravages of the rapacious lord of Voorst. He waged war with Holland, which ended with a marriage between him and Catherine, daughter of Duke Albert. He finally came to friendly terms with Cleves, though the count had been fast friends with Reinald. In 1366, a tedious dispute over the inheritance of the extinct house of Valkenburg began with Brabant.

Although the duke was thus involved in foreign broils and suffered greatly from attacks upon his own borders, he exerted his sovereignty peacefully within Guelders. The cities made this peace redound to their own prosperity. Municipal rights, especially those of the four chief cities, had been greatly increased during the civil war, and the burghers reaped advantage from Edward's love of war and of splendour in their capacity as money-lenders. The mint, too, was placed under their control,

and that was a matter of the greatest weight to commerce. The mintage was regulated by mutual consent of the merchants; the value of the coins and the amount of silver they contained were defined.

Edward's sudden death put an end to this unwonted truce. In 1369, the duke of Jülich had violated a peace made with Charles IV. and Duke Wenzel of Brabant in behalf of the lands between the Rhine and the Meuse, by neglecting to punish the plundering of Brabant merchants by the wandering troops of soldiers in the English-French wars; nay, more, he had even protected these rovers. The duke of Brabant finally invaded Jülich and engaged the duke in battle near Baesweiler, August, 1371. The people of Jülich were repulsed. Suddenly the war cry, "Guelders! Guelders!" was again heard on the field. Duke Edward, who had cut short the celebration of his nuptials with Catherine of Holland to hasten to the aid of his ally on the report of the Brabant invasion, fell upon the startled Brabanters like a whirlwind, freed his kinsman and a number of his friends, captured Duke Wenzel and many of his followers, and chased the Brabanters from the field. But then, as he rested a minute after his brilliant victory, he was struck by the arrow of a Guelderman whom he had offended. He died three days later, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Reinald was immediately released from prison. He received homage from both parties, and confirmed municipal rights everywhere. But his health had been undermined by his imprisonment, and he survived his accession only three months. With him were interred in the cloister at Gravendaal, the old place of burial of the princes of Guelders, the shield and helmet of the race. He was the last male offspring from his famous tree. This death threw Guelders back into the maelstrom of internal dissensions which Edward's vigorous administration had promised to terminate. The two sisters of the last dukes, Machteld and

Maria, now came forward as claimants. The former was widow of the lord of Millen and of the count of Cleves, the friend of the Hekerens. Maria was the wife of Duke William of Jülich, the old patron of the Bronkhorsts. Machteld urged her right as eldest daughter; Maria, the claims of her seven-year-old son, William of Jülich the only male representative of the blood of Guelders. The Hekerens advised Machteld's immediate marriage, and she formed an alliance with the rich Holland noble, John of Blois, lord of Schoonhoven and Gouda, count of Blois and Avesnes, and owner of rich estates in Holland, Zealand, Hainaut, and France. The Hooks in Holland allied themselves again closely with the Bronkhorsts, the Cods with the Hekerens. And so began a new period of civil war. The conditions which had existed in Guelders from 1316–1318 and from 1343–1361 were repeated from 1372–1379. The upper quarter, which took little part in all these feuds, adhered, in the main, to the Jülich claimants, as did the regions of the Zutphen and the upper Betuwe. The lower Betuwe and the Veluwe, on the other hand, sympathised, in the main, with the Hekerens, while the Cleves family, with their relations in Mark and Berg, sympathised with Machteld, and Arnold of Hoorn, bishop of Utrecht, came to her aid.

It was a powerful coalition which disputed the duchy of Guelders with the count and countess of Blois. "Messire Jehan de Blois had wedded wife and war at the same time," says Froissart. A few days after the wedding the spouses received homage at Arnhem (February, 1372). The upper quarter offered a vigorous opposition, and also Tiel and Nimwegen declared themselves for the young duke, William, in return for which they, as well as Harderwijk, were presented with important commercial privileges. The emperor's probable course was an open question. The old duke, William of Jülich, kept his brother, Duke Wenzel of Brabant, in prison, and obstin-

ately refused to free him, although he had been charged by Charles IV. with the maintenance of the peace. Finally, in 1372, the emperor appeared at Aix with a considerable following, and a stout body of troops prepared to bring the duke to reason by force of arms. He was persuaded that it was better to yield at once, freed his prisoner, and threw himself at the emperor's feet. Charles recognised William as heir in Guelders and Zutphen, but stipulated that the old duke should administer the government during his son's minority. At the same time a marriage was arranged between the youth and the daughter of Albert of Holland, formerly betrothed to Edward. Thus the race of Jülich came into Guelders.

But the province was not yet free from the evils of war. John of Blois cowardly abandoned his wife and betook himself to Holland, while Machteld and her allies refused to yield so easily. There was a violent skirmish at Tiel. Various places were held alternately by the Bronkhorsts and the Hekerens. The feud was, however, mainly confined to the Veluwe and the Betuwe, especially when in November, 1372, the regions on the right banks of the Yssel were declared neutral. The cities seem to have exerted great influence in this agreement for the sake of their commerce. In the Veluwe the lord of Putten was for a long time a strong ally of the Jülich people, until the bishop of Utrecht put an end to his ravages. How strangely the home and foreign parties merged into each other appears from the fact that, in 1374, John of Blois and Adolph of Cleves, leaders of the Hekerens, aided Duke Albert, William's father-in-law, in the war against the bishop of Utrecht, the strongest ally of the Hekeren party, who were contending for the rights of Blois himself. It is true that a reconciliation was effected between Blois and Jülich, whereby little more was done than to place the upper district completely under the direction of

Jülich and the remainder under Machteld until William's majority.

A reconciliation in 1376 between the Hekerens and Bronkhorsts, a truce for Betuwe and Veluwe in the following year, promised to end the war, but hostilities did not cease.

In 1377, William came of age, was formally invested with Guelders and Zutphen by the emperor, and received homage from Arnhem, Nimwegen, and the upper district. He did not recognise the many municipal privileges wrung from Reinald III. There was some opposition to the young prince, especially in the Betuwe and Veluwe, where he was forced to lay siege to various castles of the Hekeren nobles. His father accompanied him on a campaign which resulted in the defeat of the lord of Voorst near Gennep,—together with Reinald of Brederode and of Gennep, the chief leader of the Hekerens. In consideration of a pension, Machteld and John of Blois renounced their pretensions to Guelders and Zutphen (March 24, 1379). In the autumn, the sixteen-year-old William married his Holland betrothed.

Guelders's first duke from the family of Jülich was the personification of the chivalry which flourished for a brief period in the Netherlands as well as in France. Tournaments and other sports at arms were William's delight. Froissart cites him repeatedly as an ideal knight, and relates his deeds of prowess with enthusiasm. The struggle against the Lithuanians in the territories of the Teutonic Order lured him into a crusade to Prussia, like that other flower of chivalry, William of Holland. He took part in the English and French wars as the ally of the English king, thus following the tradition of his race. The enmity existing with Brabant, on account of conflicting claims to Grave, and other places, was newly aroused by the attitude of the Jülich prince in this war. At that date, Brabant was closely allied with France and Bur-

gundy. A century after the great struggle about Limburg, Brabant and Guelders were again on a footing of bitter animosity. The contest about Grave (July, 1388), was a sanguinary struggle, and the Brabanters suffered a serious defeat near Ravestein. The troops of Guelders penetrated far into Brabant on their marauding expeditions, and the campaign of the French army was the first thing that brought the new sovereign to an accommodation. William was forced to allow the claims of Brabant to Millen, Gangelt, Vucht, and Grave. But he had dared defy the puissant French realm, and that made his name famous throughout Europe.

A month later the restless prince departed for Prussia, leaving Henry of Steenbergen as stadtholder over his province. It was a brilliant retinue which accompanied him to the east. He was successful in his encounters with the unbelieving Lithuanians, and possessed himself of a number of their fortresses. Then he returned along the coast of the Baltic, but was taken prisoner near Stolpe in Pomerania by a nobleman of the region. His conqueror took him to his castle of Falkenburg. Six months later he was freed by the grand master of the Teutonic Order, but he insisted on being also formally declared free—*in optima forma*—by his captor. The chronicler relates that the Pomeranian, fearing the wrath of his followers, took refuge in a tree on one side of a little brook, and shouted out freedom to the duke, who stood on the other bank with his deliverers. Then the adventurous prince went home by way of Bohemia. He did not stay there long. In the spring of 1390, we find him in England, where King Richard II. made him Knight of the Garter, and in the following summer he appears on the French fleet, which was fitted out prepared to combat the piratical Moors off the coast of Barbary, but which returned with its purpose unachieved.

In the winter of 1392–3, Duke William was again in

Prussia. The death of his father in 1393 made him duke of Jülich. The accession to his paternal inheritance involved him in new difficulties with his neighbours, Cologne, Berg, Cleves, and Mark.

A fourth campaign against the Prussians, an expedition into Luxemburg, new hostilities with Brabant, which resulted in the final cession of Grave to Guelders (1399), a fifth crusade against the enemies of the Teutonic Order, make up the story of his life which terminated in 1402, just when he was on the point of taking part in the Arkel war against Duke Albert in Holland; in the quarrel in Friesland, where the noble Keno ten Broeke had ceded to him the land between the Ems and the Jahde, and thus making it seem as though the grant of Rudolph was about to become a fact; in the Franco-English war, this time as paid ally of the French king against the usurper on the English throne, Henry of Lancaster, who had snatched the crown from the last Plantagenet. Probably Duke William was led to this step not only by French subsidies but also by reason of his enmity against Burgundy, now closely allied to Brabant.

Duke Albert's son William, later William VI. of Holland, found in the Guelders prince a doughty opponent. He was, to be sure, Albert's son-in-law, but his sister had married the dearest foe of William of Holland, John of Arkel. There is every indication that had William of Guelders lived longer he would have made sturdy resistance to Burgundian influence in the Netherlands, availing himself of the readily offered French help. He increased the reputation of his duchy, but in spite of French subsidies heavy expenses were entailed on his land by his restless activity and continuous wars. Still possibly there was one compensation for Guelders. Opportunity was given for the nobles to expend their warlike energy elsewhere, in the train of their sovereign, without disturbing domestic peace. However that may be, this is the im-

portance of his reign for the people of Guelders—namely, that William terminated the internal feuds which had harassed the land in the fourteenth century. He reconciled the two political parties, and made them forget their differences in common foreign undertakings. The very names of the parties were lost in oblivion.

His only brother, Reinald IV., succeeded him in the united sovereignty of Jülich and Guelders-Zutphen. He, too, renewed the privileges of his cities and provinces, excepting those forced from the weak Reinald III. This reign was not so restless as that of Reinald's adventurous brother, but nevertheless it was rich in sanguinary conflicts. While the new duke did not court difficulties of all kinds, still he could not wholly escape them. He maintained the French alliance, not a little influenced by the subsidies which it brought into his treasury.[1] Violent broils had risen with Cleves, whose ruler had long desired the possession of the Lymers and Zevenaar, and repeatedly held mortgages on this territory; the result was that, in consideration of a money payment, the Lymers was ceded in 1405 to Count Adolph of Cleves, who had lately inherited the territory of Mark.

Reinald's chief difficulty was the Arkel quarrel, in which he was seriously involved. Even before open war broke out in Holland in 1407, the Guelders nobles took part with the Arkels, and the duke secretly aided his brother-in-law and nephew against Duke William VI. of Holland. The possession of the strong fortress of Gorkum on the boundary of his duchy was an annoyance to Reinald, and when William of Holland had homage paid to him there and elsewhere, Reinald declared war against him. The marches on both sides suffered in this war, and finally (1409) John of Arkel was forced to yield the city of Gorkum to Reinald, who received homage there

[1] From 1401 on he received not less than fifty thousand *gouden schilden* (golden crowns) annually.

and in the remaining district of Arkel. In compensation large estates in the upper Betuwe were ceded to the Arkels. The duke also arranged a marriage between the Holland noble, John of Egmont, and the beautiful Maria of Arkel, whereby the Egmonts became allied to him and to his interests, an alliance which opened a brilliant future for the Egmonts, as Reinald's marriage with Maria of Harcourt was childless, and William of Arkel, next heir to the realm of Guelders-Jülich, was a celibate.

In the meantime the Holland war burst out into fury when the count of Cleves made a new alliance with Holland and the towns of Utrecht and Amersfoort. The whole Lower Sticht was involved. Peace was not made until 1412, when Reinald ceded Gorkum and the territory of the Arkels to William of Holland in consideration of a large sum. Thus Guelders lost all chance of extending her territory in that direction. It was a poor compensation that, in the following year, Batenburg lapsed to Guelders in accordance with an agreement with Brabant. After the death of William of Holland, quarrels arose which have already been described. In these Reinald took active part at the same time that he was involved in a contention with the Sticht. A treaty of peace was finally made, but Reinald had not affixed his seal when he died (June, 1423). With him were buried his shield and helmet marked with the ducal crest. Reinald left no legitimate children as heirs. His nearest kin were John of Loon, lord of Heinsberg, grandson of the first William of Jülich, thus second cousin of the late prince; Duke Adolph of Berg, grandson of the eldest son of this same William; Arnold of Egmont, son of Maria of Arkel, daughter of Reinald's sister. As the mother of the last two dukes, Maria of Guelders, was sprung from the old stock of the counts of Guelders, Arnold could be reckoned as the blood descendant from the Guelders family, while the others based their pretensions on kinship with the

ducal family of Jülich. The Berg claimant could count on the aid of the duke of Cleves[1] and Mark; the Heinsberg, on that of the weak John IV. of Brabant; the Egmont, on that of the powerful duke, John of Bavaria, then possessor of the inheritance of his race in Holland and Zealand and ally of the influential duke of Burgundy. But the nobles and cities in Guelders had foreseen the difficulty. As early as the period of the troubles of the thirteenth century, the nobles and the four chief cities had occasionally exerted influence on public affairs. This influence was curbed by the vigorous governments of Edward and of William, and they only succeeded in having a voice in matters regarding the mint, petitions, etc., under Reinald IV., but the wars of the two princes of Jülich had rendered them more dependent on their subjects from a financial standpoint. Many estates were mortgaged, sold, or burdened by heavy debts, and almost no campaign could be undertaken without the duke's being forced to ask a voluntary contribution, or *bede*, from his subjects. The extravagant living of the last three dukes, the ruinous quarrels about the succession of Edward and William, had been the last straws in exhausting the finances of the duchy. Thus the people began to be aware that they possessed a latent power. The insecurity of the succession, too, was an occasion to make popular will felt.

In the beginning of 1418, in the midst of the events of the war in Holland and the Sticht after, the death of William of Arkel, who had been popularly regarded as the duke's heir, there is a record of a meeting and deliberation between the ducal council and the nobles and cities of Guelders. The previous deliberations had not, as it appears, led to any agreement between the duke and his subjects regarding the succession. On May 3, 1418, we find a covenant made between the nobles and cities of each one of the four quarters of Guelders and Zutphen,

[1] Cleves was made a duchy by Sigismund in 1417.

with an eye to the chance " if our gracious lord duke of Guelders and of Jülich and count of Zutphen should die without leaving lawful heirs behind."

Out of fear of "parties, many enmities, broils, and battles, as has happened often of yore," they mutually pledged themselves " to do homage to no lord " without the approval of the majority of the nobles, of the four chief cities, and of the majority of the little cities, and, further, without stipulation that the unity of the realm and all national and municipal privileges shall be maintained. Reinald opposed this pretentious claim, but his subjects held to their purpose, the more as they could show that in the same treaty they had promised strict obedience to the present duke. The council of Jülich and the duchess tried to smooth over matters, but after a year and a half of fruitless attempts to persuade the nobility and cities to yield, the duke consented to recognise the treaty of October 25, 1419, sealed by his wife and by the council of Jülich, and promised to alienate neither city, castle, nor province unless forced thereto by necessity; if this need should arise it was to be referred to the nobles and cities in consultation with the council. If they hesitated too long in a serious crisis, the duke could pass over them. No agreement, however, was arrived at in regard to the succession. But a great popular victory was gained over the sovereign authority. Not the right of the prince but the will of the people was to decide who should be duke of Guelders. Thus had the nobles and the cities decreed.

Still another point in the covenant deserves to be mentioned—*i. e.*, the great significance of the four chief cities. They had often exercised a deciding influence in provincial affairs. They had made their desires heard in the council chamber and on the battle-fields in the times of the great quarrels. In all party disunions the side which gained their support was generally master of the situa-

tion. Their weight was always thrown in the balance on the side of peace, the first condition of their prosperity; they extended their privileges as far as possible; they aided the authority of the strongest protector of their commercial interests; their prosperity increased steadily, their walls were extended, their markets and commercial establishments enlarged. At the same time the nobles were impoverished and weakened by their feuds, and it was only their numbers that enabled them to hold their own against the townsmen.

The succession of the thirteen-year-old Arnold of Egmont in Guelders promised to be accepted without difficulty. Immediately after the death of Duke Reinald, the nobles and cities met at Nimwegen and consulted over the rival candidates. The duke of Berg was essentially a warrior, and so was John of Heinsberg. Under either of them the land would probably suffer new exposure to sanguinary wars such as had been waged by the last dukes. Besides, Reinald IV. had already stipulated in 1420 that these two princes should divide Jülich, to which they had undisputed claims. The duke of Berg [1] especially, to whom three-fourths of Jülich was assigned, was a strong prince who would have no consideration for any pretensions of his Guelders subjects. They accordingly decided that they could retain their newly won influence best under a weak ducal power, and therefore declared for Arnold of Egmont, who was awaiting their decision at Grave. He hastened to Nimwegen, and was proclaimed duke of Guelders. He acted entirely in accordance with the will of the nobles and the cities. During his minority, his father, John of Egmont, was declared *momber* of Guelders. He was pledged to administer the government with a council of sixteen nobles, four from each quarter. Arnold promised to conclude no marriage, enter on no feud, mortgage or alienate no castle or

[1] Berg was created a duchy in 1380.

revenue without approval of the nobles and cities. Only natives should be eligible for office. His council and two representatives from each quarter were empowered to audit all official accounts. The ducal right to what was found in the streams was declared extinct; that is, in case of shipwreck on the rivers, cargoes were to return to their owners instead of lapsing to the overlord. On his progress through the duchy, Arnold confirmed all rights and privileges of city and land.

Thus the ducal power in Guelders was circumscribed. The people put an end to the absolute authority of the sovereign. But Berg and Heinsberg were not willing to consent to the denial of their claims. It was no secret that various nobles in the Betuwe had embraced the Berg party. They refused to acknowledge Arnold. The latter tried to protect himslf temporarily by a close alliance with the duke of Cleves, whose slightly based and also slightly heeded claims to Guelders were bought off by the promise of a marriage between Arnold and the young Catherine of Cleves. Philip of Burgundy, whose sister was married to the duke of Cleves, was favourably inclined to the youthful prince of Guelders. The disaffected nobles were speedily subdued. Shortly after, Arnold appealed to the emperor to obtain the investiture of Guelders and Zutphen. But Sigismund, who feared a new danger for the imperial lands in the north-west, from the good understanding between Arnold and the house of Burgundy, refused the request, and offered the lands to Duke Adolph of Jülich and of Berg (April, 1425). The latter won over the feudal chief of the empire to his side by bestowing rich gifts on him, welcome enough in the midst of continual financial embarrassments. Arnold meanwhile had also collected large sums for the same purpose, but they were insufficient.

Civil war seemed unavoidable. The heralds of Sigismund and of Duke Adolph actually appeared with letters

ordering that the latter should receive homage. But the people were true to Duke Arnold, their chosen and acknowledged sovereign, and Adolph did not quite venture an appeal to arms against Burgundian power. The peace of Guelders was soon, moreover, greatly disturbed by the Holland quarrels and by the war in the Sticht after the death of Frederick of Blankenheim. Arnold sided with Bishop Zweder against Rudolph of Diepholt, the candidate of the Utrecht clergy, in which he followed the lead of Burgundy, as he did, too, in opposing Jacqueline of Bavaria. And thus Guelders was again involved in the troubles of the Sticht and Holland. The Veluwe and Betuwe were repeatedly plundered and "*brandschatzt*," yes, even burnt, by marauders from Overyssel and the Lower Sticht. Tiel was seriously threatened by Rudolph, the land was ravaged as far as the territory of Bommel. When Philip of Burgundy withdrew from the struggle in 1428, Arnold remained alone in arms against Rudolph, but was forced to acknowledge him as bishop; by so doing he, too, came under the papal ban. This was the more serious, as, in addition, he also fell under the imperial ban pronounced by Sigismund in July, 1431, at the entreaty of Adolph of Jülich and Berg. To be sure, the emperor was too weak to enforce this ban, but it remained in existence all the same in spite of attempts to appease the emperor with presents. The ban was specially prejudicial to the merchants of the great cities. When they ventured into the empire beyond their own territories, their wares were seized, and their debtors outside of Guelders could not be sued. At the same time enmities with Jülich and their allies closed the pathway of commerce along the Rhine. Even the duke of Cleves and of Mark began to be alienated from Arnold.

The cities above all longed for the restoration of peace, for imperial recognition of the duke. In 1430 they met and took counsel with the duke, and finally persuaded

him to put aside his grievances with Cologne and the Rhinelanders. The four chief towns, backed by many nobles, attempted to make use of the duke's pressing need of funds in order to make him submit to the will of his subjects. They would contribute nothing except in exchange for some favour. Even then the contributions had to be raised under the supervision of the cities themselves. Repeated assemblies were held. The covenant of 1418 between cities and nobles was renewed and reenforced. Greater and steadily greater were the demands made on the sovereign.

Finally, in April, 1436, the nobility and the cities formulated their claims in a document drawn up at Nimwegen. The demands were as follows: maintenance of fief-, land-, city-, and dike-laws without curtailment; due care for the safety within the borders; no mortgaging or alienation of territory without approval of nobility and cities; maintenance of conditions concerning the mint stipulated when he received homage; maintenance of the treaty with Cleves; the officials were not only to swear fealty to the duke but also to the people, to give sentence according to the rights of the country. Once a year the duke was to sit in each quarter for a "clearing" (*klaring*), that is, to give judgment in case of appeal.

The duke complained bitterly about these arrogant demands, which he attributed to the four cities. "They want," he said, "to drag the net over our head," and his plaints were not unfounded. The cities had no longer the slightest respect for his dignity or his person; they violated his property as well as his sovereign rights. At Nimwegen the ducal fortress was occupied, military service refused, the prince's officers were insulted in his very presence, and the taxes evaded. At Roermund the insurgents received support, and the duke's prisoners were held. The Zutpheners were persuaded by large bribes to remain in the camp before Buren. The people

of Arnhem had deserted on their own authority, and had ruined the duke's hunting on the Veluwe by burning the heath, etc. All the cities together abolished his tolls by way of forcing him to close the rivers to the Rhinelanders. They withdrew the tolls and burdens from the country. They wrote to the duke arrogantly, and held courts at their own convenience, to which they summoned the nobles and small cities. In short, virtual anarchy reigned in Guelders, and the duke was unable to suppress it. It is true that he was greatly in the wrong, and never fulfilled the promises made when he received homage. The quarrel dragged on for several years. The duke wrote lengthy letters of complaint; nobles and cities responded in kind. Instead of taking vigorous measures, Arnold called in the mediation of Philip of Burgundy, of the bishops of Münster and Liege, of the archbishop of Cologne, of the count of Meurs, of the duke of Cleves. But all these friends availed little. As early as 1436, the cities and nobles refused to coöperate longer with the duke. Arnold was in great straits for money. He sold whole districts of the royal estates, freed prisoners in consideration of large sums of money, sold privileges to the smaller cities at high rates, mortgaged everything that was mortgageable, doing all this in opposition to the protests of nobility and cities. He was determined to maintain his expensive court at any cost. In 1441, the water rose to his very lips. He was forced to accede to the demands of knights and cities, and to recognise the covenant of 1436. Only a few modifications were made in the demands. The power of the duke was broken forever.

The cities had played for a high stake. Frequently during his contest with his subjects the duke had applied to his powerful ally, Philip of Burgundy, for aid. Driven to the last extremity, he was quite ready to throw himself into the arms of this prince, who wanted nothing better

than to strengthen his own influence in Guelders. That was something to be feared, if Duke Philip's history were remembered, and the Burgundian soon showed his hand more plainly.

Arnold had not only opposed the pretensions of Adolph of Berg to Guelders but also to Jülich. In 1437 Adolph died, and was succeeded by his son Gerhard, who was invested by Albert II. with Berg and Jülich as well as with Guelders and Zutphen. Frederick III., too, refused to recognise Arnold of Egmont in Guelders and Zutphen. In 1443, Gerhard of Jülich began to make ready to recover his Guelders inheritance. Arnold collected all his resources and threw himself on Jülich, aided by Cleves, only to meet defeat on November 3d, near Linnich. He himself was forced to flee to save his life. A ten-years' truce terminated the struggle. The expenses of this war entailed fresh difficulties upon the duke. His very jewels were lodged with the Jews and other money-lenders. His plate, yes, even the sacred pictures and holy-water jars, candelabra and crosses from the ducal chapels, all went the same way. In the castle at Grave where Arnold ordinarily lived, there was such money stress that the duke finally mortgaged the single large domain that remained to him, the territory of Kuik, to his steward, in order to meet his ordinary expenses. There was universal complaint about the duke's arbitrariness. The Nimwegers took possession of the tolls at Lobith and the castle at Buren, pursued the sovereign with their troops when he was on his way to aid his officers in the Betuwe, and called Arnold to account. Even the duke's brother chose the party of the cities. The poor duke again applied to the duke of Burgundy, who summoned both parties to Brussels. The cities refused to send deputies thither, but the mediation of Philip, of the duke of Cleves, and of the bishop of Utrecht effected the appointment of a meeting at Nimwegen in 1448.

Nothing was accomplished there, but a year later an accommodation was effected by the mediation of some of the nobles. The duke was forced to yield to the former demands, and, moreover, to agree to a council consisting of two eminent nobles and two councillors from each of the four chief cities. This council was to assist him in his administration, and especially to have a mediating voice between prince and subjects. This resolution was really taken without the duke, and he received no copy of the treaty, the original of which was deposited at Nimwegen. So low had sovereign power sunk in Guelders.

The weak prince sought consolation in the Carthusian cloister of Monnikhuisen, and there resolved to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. During his absence, his wife Catherine was nominally the regent, but in reality affairs were administered by the council of sixteen, which was restored in 1449, and enlarged by eight more nobles, two chosen from each of the four chief cities. For two years the duke remained on his journey. He went to Rome in the jubilee year of 1450, and then via Venice to Jerusalem, where he prayed at the Holy Sepulchre. Shortly after his return, the difficulties began anew. Philip of Burgundy was able to effect the election of David of Burgundy as bishop of Utrecht against Arnold's wish. Philip was successful, but he considered that he had been insulted by Arnold's opposition in the matter, and determined to quell the weakling once for all. He even advised the cities to take measures against their sovereign. He did not trouble himself about the independence of Guelders, and marched across the territory to aid the authority of his bastard son.

As uncle of the Duchess Catherine and grand-uncle of her son, the Burgundian took sides against Arnold in a family quarrel which had existed a year or more, and the crafty prince thought he could make use of domestic and civic discontent to subdue Guelders completely to his

authority. He was destined to succeed only too well. Mother and son betook themselves to his camp and discussed the measures to be taken. The city of Nimwegen empowered the duchess to treat with Philip on the burghers' account. At Whitsuntide, 1457, she went to Antwerp to obtain means of replacing her husband by her son. Philip wrote again to the chief cities about the situation, promised his help, and finally urged Arnold's subjects, in a letter signed with his own name, to make his cousin Adolph regent or ruward over the territories of Guelders. But the rest of the cities refused any thought of the scheme, nor would Duke Arnold's brother, William of Egmont. The nobles ranged themselves partly on the one side and partly on the other. Attempts at reconciliation failed. Finally, in 1459, Adolph threw his troops into Venloo and began an open feud with his father, at the instance of the embittered burghers of Nimwegen. Thus had the Burgundian involved Guelders in civil war, a war which was to play the province into the hands of his son after a few years. The conditions of the times were such as to prevent him and his immediate successors from incorporating the duchy of Guelders into the growing Burgundian monarchy. But the way was paved for that event.

CHAPTER V

SCHIERINGERS AND VETKOOPERS IN FRIESLAND

THE condition of Friesland in the beginning of the fourteenth century offers a peculiar spectacle. After the subjection of West Friesland by Floris V. of Holland and the ravages of the great floods in the regions at the mouth of the Zuyder Zee, the western boundary of Friesland was pushed still farther east and the territory curtailed. The Vlie, that had formerly divided West and Middle Friesland, could no longer be called a boundary stream. It was a mouth of the sea between the Holland and Frisian territories. The river itself was reduced to a deep channel in the waste of shallows and sand-banks of the continually encroaching Zuyder Zee, which washed the last remnant of the inhabited fen that had once been surrounded by the Flevomeer. The most considerable of the remnants was the island Grind, mentioned now and then in Holland records, and thickly inhabited in the fourteenth century. This, as well as the separated remnant of the old territory, Texla and Wieringen, the west and south coast of the Frisian Westergoo, was ever a ready prey to the water wolf, which gulped down great morsels of the inhabited and cultivated fen region.

Steady, too, was the increase in the extent of the fordable shallows between the dunes and the coast of Friesland; steadily increased the *gorzen*,[1] as well as the stretches

[1] Alluvial ground at the mouth of a river.

of sand-banks which kept alive the memory of pasture lands and tilled fields. The coast of Friesland from the Vlie to the Weser and farther eastward showed similar examples of the struggle against the destructive element. To maintain this contest, the dikes on the Frisian coast-line, built and strengthened by the harassed population after every flood, show another proof of this strife, as do also the petitions for help by the inhabitants of the cloister at Stavoren (erected about 1238), threatened not only in its prosperity but in its very existence; and we have further tidings in the records of chroniclers about the frightful devastations inflicted by the floods of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The sea pressed farther and farther in between Ooster- and Wester-goo; steadily farther flowed the Lauwers—changed from a boundary river to an arm of the sea—into the land between Oostergoo and Humsterland; steadily broader became the mouths of the Ems and Weser and the upper flats of the creeks of the Leye and Jahde on the east Frisian coast. The fens had long sheltered the Frisian people from their southern neighbours, but no defence against the northern enemy, the "salt sea," was possible. The coast districts between the fens and the sea grew steadily smaller, and the time did not seem far distant when the Westergoo, like the neighbouring islands, should fall a prey to the devastating element that had allies galore in the numberless lakes lying inland.

The Frisian territory can be fully described in the words of a commentator on Adam of Bremen: *Fresia regio est maritima inviis inaccessa paludibus.* In this marshy, inaccessible region dwelt

"the wild Frisians, skilled at arms, robust, and powerfully built, undaunted and unterrified, proud of their freedom, with individual customs, unwilling to brook foreign masters. The Frisians never hesitated to risk their lives for liberty; they

never could endure a superior. They chose officers annually to administer the state fairly and justly. They punished unchastity in women very severely, and encouraged the marriage of priests. Cattle breeding was a chief industry. Their land is flat and marshy, rich in grain and poor in wood; they made fire from resinous turf and dry excrements of cattle."

Next to cattle breeding, agriculture and fishing were the special occupations of the Frisians. Frisian cloth lost its repute in the markets of the world when it came into competition with the Flemish and Dutch weaves, but the commerce of Stavoren was considerable, and this city, together with Hindeloopen, Dokkum, and the growing Leeuwarden, was an important member in the Hanse. Bolsward, Sneek, and Franeker were of less importance in this regard. They were country towns, market towns, as appears plainly, until far into the fifteenth century. In the fourteenth century, Stavoren was the most important city in Friesland, until the continuous floods, the increasing shallows in the navigable streams in the neighbourhood, the shifting sand-banks on the side of the Vlie, all contributed to the decay of the ancient and famous city at about 1400, though as late as 1380 she still played a part at the Hanse assemblies, while the commerce of Dokkum seems to have fallen into still worse decay. The Frisian fords and sand creeks, flats and shallows, offered advantageous footholds to the pirates for injuring the flourishing commerce of the Hanse. Especially at the end of the fourteenth and in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the pirates, nestled along the Frisian coast, whose deeds on the North Sea play a part in the Scandinavian quarrels so frequent about 1370, were a sore plague to the merchants of the Hanse towns. The social conditions in Friesland, too, were such as to favour the development of lawless individual enterprise.

From the middle of the thirteenth century, no overlord

had exercised other than temporary authority in Ooster- or Wester-goo. Count Floris IV. of Holland and Bishop Otto III. of Utrecht in the thirteenth century seem to have been the last sovereigns recognised, although even their power was not very significant. Stavoren was the only place across the Zuyder Zee to accept the authority of Floris V. The powerful count, William III. of Holland and Hainaut, received homage throughout the two regions, but his authority was uncertain. His son fell in a campaign against Friesland, but the sovereign authority of Holland was not well established in the two districts.

In the district between the Lauwers and the Weser, too, Friesland had remained free of lords. The count of Guelders, Reinald I., who had received sovereign rights here from Emperor Rudolph of Germany, was not able to maintain his gift. And in the fourteenth century what significance had the ancient rights of the counts of Oldenburg in Astringen, or those of the bishop of Münster in the Ems region, or the claims of Bremen upon Rüstringen? There had been a noteworthy attempt to deny the validity of any foreign pretensions once for all. About 1280, the existence of a document was claimed in which liberty was pledged to the Frisians by Charlemagne. A certain Holland chronicler of the period asserted contemptuously that the alleged document was sealed with butter, and could not bear the light. It is now almost universally acknowledged as a forgery. It was also asserted that the Roman kings, William and Rudolph, had recognised Frisian liberty in successive written grants. In 1287 an impostor, claiming to be Emperor Frederick II. come to life again, appeared, and the Frisians sought and obtained from him at Neuss a confirmation of their traditional liberty. In 1301, Albert speaks of the "freedoms, rights, and privileges that they were *said* to have obtained from the emperor." But a better friend than parchment was armed resistance to the stranger, who never really suc-

ceeded in subduing them, or, if he were successful in reducing them temporarily to subjection, only ventured to exercise his authority in a very circumscribed manner.

Thus, as a rule, the Frisian territory was left to itself, and affairs were administered by native nobles who possessed the dignities of a consul (*redjeva*, *redger*). The nobles governed the districts (*terræ*) and the subdivisions thereof,—the *cætus*, *districtus*, *quadrantes*,—the parts (*deelen*) of the later Friesland. It was the Frisian nobility who, with the coöperation of the clergy, formed the treaties between the provinces, made covenants with foreign powers, and commercial treaties with the cities, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck.

In 1323, a reform movement[1] was initiated in opposition to the Holland count. This was an attempt to restore the ancient Upstal tree contracts which had fallen into oblivion for a century. We find that it is the nobles (*gretmanni*) and judges of Oostergoo and Westergoo who make an alliance with the inhabitants of the maritime provinces in order to oppose *communi concursu*, the enemy, "who design to subject us to a yoke of servitude."[2] At Whitsuntide there was an assembly of the representatives of the various maritime lands, or districts (*zelandiæ*), to discuss the means of maintaining peace.[3] In regard to the laws, ancient conditions were renewed or improved and a regular administration of justice assured. The varying usages in regard to coinage in Friesland were to be adjusted to a fixed standard. Thus stipulated the treaty of 1323. For at least four years this treaty had some weight, and we find the Upstal tree (*Upstalboomsche*) court of the maritime judges (*judices selandini*) occasionally in evidence, confirming rights, reconciling and making alliances in the midst of the prevailing disunion, recognised in the

[1] *Reformatio constitutionum Obstallisbaem constitutarum.*
[2] *Volens nos jugo servitutis subjicere.*
[3] *Ad negotium pacis.*

various districts of Friesland as having authority, and sealing documents with a seal on which the two words *totius Frisiæ* were to be seen. The Upstal tree court acted for a time as the protector of law and order in Frisian society, as it had done in earlier centuries, certainly in the twelfth.

After four years, there is no more mention of the court at this time, but when—as in 1361—the Frisian freedom was regarded as in jeopardy, the nobles and judges (*gretmanni* and *judices*) from the territory between the Vlie and the Ems took some part in public affairs. They were instrumental in concluding a treaty with Groningen, "*pro utilitate frisonicæ libertatis*," to confirm Frisian liberty. This was again a renewal of the old Upstal tree alliance, but now with the non-Frisian city Groningen as centre and capital. In the alliances which Groningen made successively from 1366–1382 with the various parts of Friesland, whereby the city increased her influence in the neighbouring country (*Ommelands*), the Frisian nobles began to be prominent. Strong castles (*stinse*) in the midst of enormous hereditary estates gave the Frisian nobility opportunity to make themselves virtual masters of the country around them. Without their coöperation no dike was made, no sluice built, no canal dug, no stipulation concerning dike- or sluice-law established. The administration of justice was lodged wholly in the hands of the nobles. The office of judge passed by turns to the owners of the ancient "noble hearths" of the aristocratic estates. The nobles even claimed some rights over the churches in the villages near their castles. Although the Frisian boor was and remained the full possessor of his terrain and his property, besides being the master of his own person, still the squire of the village, the largest landowner of the region (*hoofdeling*), was *de facto* his superior. Although the Frisian squire could not claim sovereign rights like his peers in other provinces, although the completely developed feudal system proper never

obtained in Friesland, yet the Frisian noble was sufficiently powerful to consider himself virtual ruler of his village without assuming the title of lord. Usually he bore the name of his best known ancestor as family name, with the addition of one of the Frisian suffixes, *inga* (son of), *ma* (man), *da*, or *ta*. These last were adjective forms showing the origin. Occasionally, too, there was the addition of captain (*capitaneus* or *hoofdeling*) of this or that place. Recognising no sovereign above him, the Frisian squire or noble was, in point of fact, mightier and more independent than the nobles of Holland, Guelders, or the Sticht.

Until far into the fifteenth century, we find a noble family at the head of the municipal government in various cities besides Stavoren. In Friesland, between the Lauwers and the Ems, from the twelfth century on, a few noble families appropriated the ecclesiastical deaconhoods of the bishopric of Münster, made them hereditary, and exerted their sway in this remote portion of the bishopric in ecclesiastical as well as in lay matters, and with the overlording little moderation was shown. How was moderation to be expected from the wild Frisian peasant-knights, ever accustomed to sanguinary feuds, and almost entirely untouched by the influence of the chivalry of north France and Flanders? The Frisian peasant had reason to rejoice when the mutual enmity of his noble rulers was at least tempered, as in the thirteenth century, by written land-, sea-, and dike-laws for the various districts, and that the Frisian cities could offer them and theirs occasional protection against arbitrariness and extortion.

Next to the nobles came the claims of the clergy.

The many rich cloisters of the Premonstratensians and Cistercians, a few rich Dominican institutions, arise after the second half of the thirteenth century, and finally the houses of the Teutonic Order, which had also acquired

considerable territory, covered the land with a mass of monks, whose leaders, belonging, in the main, to the Frisian nobility, exercised the power of their high dignity and noble origin. In a number of documents these prelates appear as representatives of estates, sometimes taking precedence of the lay nobles. The Frisian prelates, too, carried on undertakings in the name of their districts (*gouwen*), concluded treaties and covenants in their name, appeared as landowners conjointly with the nobles in affairs of diking and canals so usual in these aqueous regions. But their way was not smooth. First, their power passed, after their death, to an unknown person. They had to wrestle with the opposition of their steadily increasing lay members (*conversi*), restless people over whom they had far less power than the hereditary landowner had over his tenants.[1] The cloisters, too, had much trouble from their tenants, or *meiers*, but still more from the cloister inhabitants themselves, both monks and lay brothers.

Under these circumstances the confusion in Friesland was great. Private quarrels increased, and there was no sovereign hand to check them. There were, moreover, troubles in the cloisters, deadly feuds between the members of the various orders; those between the Premonstratensians and Cistercians especially proving a new fountain of dissension. As early as the Upstal tree laws of 1323, there is mention of so-called apostates, runaway monks or converts (*conversi*), about whose lives dark stories are told. Some years later these cloister quarrels reached so high a pitch that they are called cloister *wars*. The best informed historian, Worp of Thabor (1520), mentions as the chief cause of the ruinous quarrels affecting Friesland about the middle of the fourteenth century, the wars between the cloister converts in Ooster- and Wester-goo.

[1] Compare Part i., p. 175.

These quarrels take their place in Frisian history as the feuds of the Schieringers and Vetkoopers. Although the derivation of these names is not perfectly proved, it is almost certain that *Schieringer* comes from *schiere*, or the grey cowls of the Cistercian monks, also called grey monks. The name *Vetkooper* turns, then, probably on the chief occupation of those in opposition to the Cistercians—that is, cattle pasturing or keeping. From Oostergoo and Westergoo the names, like the quarrels, penetrated other parts of the land.

For almost two centuries society in Friesland suffered from these quarrels. Castles and cloisters were besieged and burnt, estates ruined, farm-houses laid in ashes and plundered, cattle driven off and slaughtered. Many nobles fell and hundreds of peasants. Heads of cloisters girded on their armour and led their monks to the fight. Treachery and ambuscade were frequent methods of contest. Sluices were opened or destroyed in order to ruin an enemy's territory. Churches and cloisters became fortresses; villages and cities, castles and farms, were turned into strong camps and robber nests for the region. The parties did not hesitate to trample under foot the old Frisian ideas of liberty and to beg help from the stranger. The Vetkoopers were usually the close friends of the Holland invaders, and many nobles of their party tried to exchange their more or less usurped power as captains for titles under the lordships established by Albert and William VI. in Friesland. If the victory of these princes had been lasting, Frisian liberty would have been ended, and Friesland, like Holland, would have been divided into a number of lordships, with leaders of the Vetkooper party at the head. On the east side of the Ems, as far as the Jahde, the Vetkoopers joined forces with the Hollanders, and with their help tried to put their power on a firm foundation. The defeat of the Hollanders about 1400 put an end to these attempts, and

many of the Vetkoopers, especially those who had pressed into the Oostergoo, had to leave Friesland.

Though the civil war had emanated from the cloisters, about 1350, it became shortly the affair of the nobles and the outlet of feuds existing for centuries. The family or clan of the captain "tom Broke" became prominent leaders in the Ems region. They had their headquarters in the morasses anciently belonging to the Emsland, which bore the name of the land of the Broekmanns (*Brocmannia*), and which had, apparently, been cultivated by the counts of Ravensberg and Oldenburg, who possessed ancient rights there. The name of the chief city, Aurich (ancient Awerk), points to old water-works in this region. There lay a castle of the Oldenburg counts, and, farther on, Oldeburg near Engerhafe in the hereditary possession of the family "of the marsh." The oldest known representative was Keno, son of Hijlmar, whose name is mentioned about 1347. Keno ten Broek, from whom the family was also named Kensma, was the captain of this region, and also possessed another fortress near the sea where he sheltered the roving pirates of the North Sea.

Keno's son and follower, Occo (1376–1391), had, as a young knight, wandered throughout Europe, and was living in the brilliant court of Naples when his father died. His two sisters made an adventurous quest to bring him home. He took possession of his ancestral inheritance, called himself "lord of Broeckmerlant," and paid homage to Albert of Holland for all his estates. He was a mighty captain in the regions between Emden and Norden, and a doughty opponent to his numerous enemies, the less important captains from the races of the Beningas, of the Cirksenas, and of the Idsingas. Occo finally lost his life in a broil with one of his foes, Folkmer Allena.

His young son Keno, at first under the guardianship of

his older bastard brother, Widzelt, was a restless warrior like his father. Keno and Widzelt allied themselves with other Vetkoopers, and recognised Albert as overlord of their estates. But they were soon overshadowed by a still more adventurous man, the famous Focco Ukena, captain of Leer, who was the terror of Friesland for forty long years. After defeating and killing Widzelt ten Broek in 1399, near Deteren, he put an end to the dominance of Holland across the Ems, a mastery that was, however, never much more than nominal. Until his death in 1435, he was the hero of many a robber raid in Friesland between the Vlie and the Weser, of many a sanguinary fight between Stavoren and Bremen. The pirates in the sandy East Frisian harbours were his allies. The Hamburg and Bremen merchants, whose commerce suffered sadly from the continued piracy in these regions, persuaded the Hanse to send various expeditions to the Emslands to disperse the *Victalie-broeders*, or the equal sharers (*Likedeelers*), as these pirates were called, but they were disappointed by the victories of the valiant captain of Leer, against whom their ally, Keno (1391–1417), proved too weak.

Keno's son, Occo ten Broek, was no more successful in checking the dreaded outlaws. He entitled himself proudly lord of East Friesland, and counted even Jever for a time as within his jurisdiction, but he had to yield to the captain of Leer. In 1426, he was defeated in a series of battles at Deteren, Oterdum, and on the *Wilder-Akker*, or waste land near Venhusen in East Friesland, although Occo's party was increased by the Hanse, by the archbishop of Bremen, by the bishop of Münster, by the count of Oldenburg, and many more German nobles. In the last battle Occo was taken prisoner. He saw the castles of his forefathers demolished by his enemy's hand, and languished for seven years as a captive, dragged from place to place by his pitiless conqueror. After the defeat

of Focco, his fetters were loosened, but he died in the same year, the last of a race whose members had once seemed on the high road to establishing a princedom under Holland's protection in the land across the Ems.

Focco Ukena, too, did not reach the desired goal, although for a time he had both the trans-Ems district and West Friesland in his power, and had won high reputation on account of his brilliant campaigns. The party of Occo ten Broek had found a new leader in the person of Jonker Edzard of Greetsiel from the clan of Cirksena. He and his brother Ulrich inherited the reputation of the race of Ten Broek. In 1430, Edzard and Ulrich were the leaders of the opposition to the universally hated Focco, whom they hunted from Leer itself, his strongest castle. Focco's faithful ally, Sibet of Rüstringen, whose family had had the same rank in the region as the Kensmas about Aurich, was forced to yield with the help of the Bremers and Oldenburgers, who had the greatest interests at stake.

After the death of Occo in 1434, and that of Focco in his castle, Dykhuizen, in the following year, Edzard and Ulrich were supreme across the Ems, and tried to strengthen their rights there, first with the help of the Hamburgers and later against them. In the interests of their commerce, the Hamburgers held the robber nests Emden, Leer, and Leerort long in siege, but Ulrich, now the sole representative of the Cirksena race, succeeded in freeing himself from them. His marriage with Theda, daughter of his old foe, Focco Ukena, reconciled many of the opposite party to his sovereignty in East Friesland. His well meaning disposition, his gentle bearing, his diplomatic ability, finally attained for him his desires. He had to yield Rüstringen to Oldenburg, but he bought from the Hamburgers the right of garrison in the disputed places on the Ems, made Aurich and Emden seats of his authority recognised by the Frisians across the Ems,

and in 1454 obtained from Emperor Frederick III. the investiture of East Friesland, which was elevated to a countship. But the neighbouring German nobles did not wish an influential Frisian count as a close neighbour, and made difficulties which Jonker Ulrich finally succeeded in overcoming. On the 1st of October, 1464, an imperial proclamation was published, in which Ulrich, "captain [*hoofdeling*] at Norden," was created count of Norden, Emden, and the Ems region; all the land eastward of the Ems as far as the Weser, from the sea southward as far as the German border, was placed under his authority. At Jever, to be sure, he had to yield a considerable realm to the dynasty of Edo Wiemken, who had ruled there formerly. At Varel, Esens, and Witmund, too, little dynasties maintained their existence under the protection of the counts of Oldenburg and of the Bremers, who made themselves masters of the greatest portions of ancient Rüstringen and the east coast which had once made part of free Friesland. Thus the Frisian coast lands underwent a change. The old government by *hoofdelings* gave place to a single ruler capable of maintaining a vigorous authority. The demands for order after long years of troubles and disorder, especially after the last century of feuds and turmoil in more aggravated measure perhaps than had yet existed, made the Frisians across the Ems willing to accept this. The waxing prosperity of Emden, Leer, and Norden as commercial places, as head centres of the relations with the Hanse, was one factor in this direction. The annihilation of the tumultuous families of *hoofdelings* was no less significant. They vanish before one's eyes, one family after another, and room was made for the more fortunate in the struggle for existence.

On the west of the river Ems, the devastations and struggles had a longer life. We hear of inroads from

Holland in 1396, and, in the following years, there are mentions of many factions who were at swords' points in the various districts, especially those of the factious nobles (*factiosi viri nobiles*), who fought out their feuds as of old. The names *schira partye* and *fata partye*, *schieringh* and *fatkeper*, were not in vogue there until 1392.

From time to time and after the above-mentioned invasion this party spirit ran high. Although in the beginning the parties joined against the foreign enemy as in the days of William IV., immediately after the first campaign of Albert and William in 1396, they fell out again, and the Vetkoopers sought support from the arch-enemy of the land, as already related. As long as the Hollanders held the land between Vlie and Lauwers more or less under their thumb, they aided the Vetkoopers to retain the supremacy, but after the withdrawal of the Holland troops the Schieringers became masters, and the Camminghas, Heemstras, and Donias, who had all received estates from Albert and his son, were forced to abandon the land and seek refuge in the territories of their protectors. East of the Lauwers the defeat of the Hollanders in 1400 proved the death-blow to the power of the Vetkooper nobles, who had also made themselves lords in these districts, the Onstas and Eysingas in Hunsingoo, the Snelgersmas and Wibbenas in Fivelgoo, the Gockinas and Houwerdas in the Oldambt. Groningen, the rallying point of the Schieringers in this region, attacked them with the secret coöperation of Frederick of Blankenheim, bishop of Utrecht. He feared the waxing power of Holland, and aided the Schieringers of Ooster- and Wester-goo to drive out the hated Holland officials and hirelings. Then many strongholds of the defeated party fell. Everywhere the Schieringer troops ravaged the district, plundered and demolished the strongholds of the Vetkoopers and the fortresses erected by the Holland leaders.

Stavoren alone remained in the power of Holland, and was held with difficulty by a strong garrison until 1414, when the last survival of Holland supremacy fell into Frisian hands. The war, however, went on on both sides with great bitterness after the evacuation of the Ooster- and Wester-goos by the Hollanders. Groningen shared in these vicissitudes, and was, for a time, the stronghold of the Schieringers, led on by the emigrant Frisian, Coppen Jarges. Later again it was the fortress of the Vetkoopers, whose leaders were the Clants and Rengers. The story of the events within the city was usually repeated in the circumjacent country. When Coppen Jarges, in the struggle against Keno ten Broek and the Vetkoopers, plundered the Ems region in 1413, he destroyed the sluices in Reiderland so that the Ems overflowed, and the formation of the Dollart was begun. In 1415, the Vetkoopers recovered Groningen, which again became a place of refuge for their party, and Keno was free to harass the land as far as Stavoren, while the Schieringer castles repaid the injury to the full of their ability. Thus the ebb and flow of party quarrels went on continually. Disorder reigned for twenty years over all Friesland, and it was to be feared that the ruler of Holland, the ancient foe of the land, the only powerful prince in the vicinity, would finally be called in by both parties as a saviour.

But the time was not yet come. Sigismund, who had long had his eye on the Netherlands, turned his thoughts to the ways and means of the acquisition thereof, when he passed through the territory in 1416, on his journey to England. His methods were diplomatic, not military. In November of that year, he had a meeting at Nimwegen with some Frisian deputies, probably of the Schieringer party, who drew a picture of the wretched condition of the land. Before the year was ended, the sovereign appointed one of his trusty statesmen, the chancellor of

Breslau, Nicholas Buntzlow, and a Groninger, Hendrik Clant, *licenciat* in law, canon at Cologne, to investigate the affairs of ruined Friesland. The last-mentioned ambassador was, in a short time, replaced by the knight Siegfried of Wenningen.

These officials then visited the province and regulated its relations to Sigismund, who issued a proclamation on September 30, 1417, wherein he recognised ancient Frisian liberties and revoked all grants formerly made to Frisian counts and lords in ancient times, and declared that the land was subject to his authority alone. To the German sovereign alone should be paid the ancient *huslaga*, a tax collected by the great men of each district at the rate of a groat for every house, and he alone should possess the right of mintage at Leeuwarden and the toll at Stavoren and elsewhere. The embassy tried to persuade the Frisian parties to make peace between themselves. Buntzlow partially succeeded in attaining this end. In various districts we find him offering the palm branch of reconciliation in the name of the emperor.

It is evident that this imperial embassy was directed, primarily, against the Holland plan of occupation, especially against the waxing influence of the duke of Burgundy, the emperor's arch-enemy. Therefore, from the outset, Buntzlow depended especially on the Schieringers, while the Vetkoopers were put under the royal ban. His efforts were favoured by the circumstance that just then (1417) William VI. of Holland, the protector of the Holland-sympathising Vetkoopers, died, and his countship fell into a condition of disorder which made it impossible to exert power in Friesland from the Holland side. A peace concluded in 1419 by Buntzlow was not of long duration. New hostilities between the parties brought it to an end in 1420.

The doughty Focco Ukena came from East Friesland

and plundered the Westergoo in a frightful manner, defeated the Schieringers near Hindeloopen, overpowered Stavoren, and slew Coppen Jarges.

Then John of Bavaria appeared. He allied himself (1418) with the Schieringers against the Vetkoopers, who were, for their part, friendly with the adherents of Jacqueline of Holland. He was acknowledged as lord in opposition to the *hoofdeling*, or captain, from across the Ems. His troops freed Slooten, the beleaguered seat of the Schieringer family, Harinxma, and forced the besiegers to take refuge in East Friesland.

From this time Friesland became Schieringer and subject to the Bavarian. Duke John's steward and captain-general in the newly won province, Henry of Renesse, extended his authority over all Friesland to the Jahde and the Weser. Still, in point of fact, the Bavarian had gained little. He was successful in subduing the Ooster- and Wester-goo for good, and in attaching to himself several captains of the Vetkoopers powerful across the Lauwers, like Occo ten Broek. But east of the Lauwers his authority counted for little. He had to be content with the very limited privileges exercised in Friesland by his most powerful predecessors on the Holland throne like William III. Ooster- and Wester-goo were submissive until his death in 1425, and seem to have remained peaceful.

After John's death, Philip of Burgundy had, at first, too much to do elsewhere to occupy himself with Friesland, where they hesitated to acknowledge him as successor to the late prince. He waged a privateer war with the Frisians, but made no real effort to subdue their authority until 1450. The Frisians sent repeated embassies to the duke to discuss his demands, but finally made a new covenant among themselves to defend their rights as of yore against all sovereigns, and showed their reluctance to submit to the dominant prince in spite of

the menaces of Philip and his son Charles. It was evident that the Burgundian dynasty would not give up their rights, and there seemed little doubt that the Frisians must yield. Friesland had no chance against such superior power. About 1430, the disturbances across the Lauwers seemed to have come to an end. Focco Ukena tried, by means of his so-called *Willekeuren* of 1427, which were intended to regulate the administration of justice, of government, and of dikes in these regions according to ancient customs, to withdraw the land between Lauwers and Ems from the increasing influence of Groningen. But after his defeat and death this influence increased again. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Groningen had not only the *Oldambt* under her control, but was also dominant in Hunsingoo and Fivelgoo, and made her power felt as far as the region between the Vlie and the Lauwers.

In the meanwhile other cities began to be prominent—especially Leeuwarden. Stavoren was threatened with a loss of her commerce by the filling up of the channel which connected her port with the North Sea, but Sneek and Bolsward in Westergoo grew and prospered. Municipal laws were reduced to written form, old customs were recorded, and commerce was furthered by the establishment of new and better maintenance of old highways. Domestic peace was maintained as far as possible. In peace-making the name of the famous preacher, Johannes Brugman, must be mentioned. In 1455, he helped draw up a new municipal law for Bolsward, which became the model for other Frisian cities. Then, too, in the following year, he succeeded in pacifying the eternal feuds between the Galamas and Harinxmas in Gaasterland. It was a question whether Groningen, already lord over the Ommelands, might not obtain the mastery in West Friesland and crush the progress of the little cities there as she had that of the towns in her own neighbourhood. The

new feuds in the Oostergoo forced the people to submit, in 1444, to the leadership of Groningen, and, although Westergoo and Zevenwolden did not follow this example but made a closer alliance among themselves, the question of Groningen's mastery in Friesland remained a vital one.

The city had calmed its own civil turmoils of the beginning of the century. An important member of the Hanse league, she was continually increasing her commercial privileges and making her commercial relations prosperous. From these days (1425) dates the permanent form in which her municipal laws were published; from this period dates the establishment of her guild law which guaranteed a commercial monopoly in cattle and grain. Her chief merchants carried on the government with a strong hand—ever on their guard against the peasants in the vicinity and the guild fraternities in the city. It was a question whether the Cirksenas, endowed with the dignity of counts in East Friesland, would allow this growing mastery of Groningen. On the other hand, would Burgundy renounce the hereditary rights of the Holland counts in Friesland, and leave the city of Groningen in peaceful possession of the realm formerly enjoyed by their predecessors?

It was inconceivable that either the counts of East Friesland or the house of Burgundy would lose sight of Frisian affairs. If the old Frisian feuds were to break out again, so that Groningen could no longer maintain order, then Burgundy and East Friesland would not hesitate to assert themselves.

Thus in the sixteenth century Friesland was in a state of uncertainty. In the womb of the future lay hidden the name of the future sovereign in Friesland. But that Frisian liberty was already a thing of the past cannot escape the careful historical observer of this last epoch.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRINCES AND THEIR GENERAL POLICY

IN a work dedicated to the heroes of humanity, Carlyle has attempted to define the rôle played by them in the world's history. He sings the praises of "these leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterns, and, in a wide sense, the creators of what the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain. All things that we see accomplished in this world are virtually the outward material results, the practical realisation and embodiment, of thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world; the soul of the whole world's history, it may be justly considered, were the history of these." On the whole this opinion is unjust, as is shown in the previous pages. While we cannot agree with Carlyle that the history of the world is simply the biography of the great men who have worked here, yet it must be acknowledged that extraordinary personalities, especially extraordinary princes, often have exerted a decisive influence on the history of the world. We do not believe that the Germanic invasion in the Roman empire, the development of the great estates and of the power of money, the rise of the nobles, of the knights, of the cities, of the guilds, are the personification of thoughts dwelling in the heroes. The most striking phases of our social revolutions are not the results of individual thoughts, but the result of the development of society itself. On the other

hand, in political history a certain significance of great men cannot be denied. Who would refuse to acknowledge that Drusus and Germanicus, Charlemagne, Bishop Adelbold of Utrecht, Count Floris V. of Holland, and Jacques van Artevelde were important individual factors in our political existence? They sketched the outline upon which our political action moved for years, nay, centuries. Their thoughts exercised an immeasurable influence on history.

The first ruler of the Burgundian race was a remarkable personality. In the region between the Jura and the Loire, between the middle part of the Rhine and the sources of the Meuse and the Moselle, there sprang up in the ninth century the duchy of Burgundy. It bore the name of a Germanic family which had taken root in that portion of ancient Gaul and gave its title to one of the Merovingian kingdoms in the seventh century. The treaty of Verdun divided the old Burgundian territory between the brothers Lothaire and Charles the Bald. Thus a West Frankish Burgundy originated, besides another Burgundy that retained a separate existence for a couple of centuries after the division of Lothaire's territory, under a member of the Carlovingian house. Finally the separated parts were reunited. The Burgundian princes of the ninth and tenth centuries became rivals of the Carlovingians in Italy and West Francia. They repeatedly gained supremacy for the time being. The imperial title, too, fell to their lot. But the mighty race died out and the new royal Frankish family of the Capets made a duchy of the West Frankish Burgundian territory for the benefit of French vassels. The rest of Burgundy remained, until far into the eleventh century, a considerable portion of the so-called Arelatian kingdom incorporated into the German empire. A little portion of this ancient realm was the countship of Burgundy, bordering on, but not a part of, the ancient duchy. Thus there

was a countship belonging to the German empire side by side with a French duchy of the same name. The two lands had wholly distinct existences until far into the fourteenth century, when the German countship fell by inheritance to the French crown and was bestowed upon the duke of Burgundy. The two Burgundies, thus united, were soon separated again.

The Burgundian ducal family from the old race of Capet became extinct in 1361, and the then French king from the house of Valois, John I., took possession of the French duchy, while the German countship of Burgundy and Artois fell as a heritage to the dowager countess of Flanders, also a blood relation of the extinct ducal line. Both Burgundies had suffered frightfully in later times from the devastations caused by the half wild troops which harassed all West France and Lorraine in the middle of the century. Many Burgundian nobles on both sides suffered in the wild raids of these unpunished soldiers, who preyed, for many years, like locusts on the Burgundian countship, as well as on Besançon, Dijon, and Châlons. King John lived long enough to rescue his inheritance from the unfortunate condition into which it had fallen, but a body of his soldiers sent to establish order were worsted in a desperate struggle, and Burgundy was not really freed from the ravages of the lawless troops until the Italian margrave, Montferrat, took them into his service. Shortly afterwards (September 6, 1363) the king granted the duchy to his youngest and favourite son, Philip the Bold, duke of Touraine, as a reward for his valour in the battle of Poitiers, when—so it runs in the grant—he alone of his brothers would not forsake the king, but fought on valiantly until he fell into the hands of the victorious English together with his father.[1]

The French historian Martin is right in his estimation

[1] See Barante, *Hist. des ducs de Burgogne.* This is the best history of Burgundy.

of the importance of this gift, which deprived the French realm of such a valuable territory to put into the hands of a prince of the blood, to whom was also given the rank of first peer of France. Thus the second house of Burgundy was founded, whose members were destined to many a struggle for supremacy with the French kings. They were the mightiest of the *Sires des fleurs-de-lis*, for they, too, wore lilies in their coat of arms as offerings of the royal house. The gift was not valid until after the death of King John in 1364, when young Philip the Bold made his entry into his capital, Dijon. It was soon clear that the adjective was well applied to this first Burgundian duke of the house of Valois. From the days when he, prisoner in England, had censured a servant at the table of Edward III. because he had served the English king, the vassal, before the French king,—prisoner, to be sure, but still the overlord in Philip's eyes,—up to the time when he ruled France despotically in behalf of his minor nephew, this Burgundian duke won the admiration of the western world by his valour.

His brother, the new French king, increased the ducal power by his gift of the stadtholdship of the Isle of France and by negotiating his marriage with the rich heiress of Flanders. Thus, in 1384, Philip stepped into the possession of the broad lands of the late Flemish count,—Flanders, Mechlen, Nevers, Rhetel, etc. Later there were added, from the inheritance of the dowager countess of Flanders, Artois and the countship of Burgundy, soon known as the Franche Comté,[1] which was thus again united with the duchy under one rule. It was a considerable power if wielded by powerful hands. Two of the greatest fiefs of the French crown were united. The example of Normandy, which had been similarly united with Anjou and Guienne in the twelfth century, should have warned the French king that such a union

[1] This is the name usually in vogue.

was dangerous for the crown. France, too, was still suffering from the results of the union of fiefs which occasioned the outbreak of the great war between France and England.

The duke of Burgundy soon proved himself one of the most powerful lords of Christendom. In the war against the English he covered himself with glory. In the civil troubles in France at the time of the minority, and later, during the insanity of Charles VI., he was unquestionably the most influential prince of the blood. His elder brother, the duke of Orleans, was in a constant state of contention with him. Indeed, about 1390 it was less the question in France what was the will of the king than what his uncle of Burgundy could accomplish against his uncle of Orleans. In Netherland history the first count of Flanders from the new ducal house played a considerable rôle (1380), as already related, not only as an invincible warrior but as an energetic ruler.

Philip the Bold instituted the first measures of organisation intended to effect greater unity among the diverse territories under his sovereignty in the Netherlands. He adopted the plans of the French kings, especially that adopted by Philip the Fair. His policy was to strengthen the central government in opposition to the centrifugal tendency of feudal society and to confirm the royal sovereign power. "As the king wills, so wills the law," was the maxim of the Burgundian lords, and this they tried to attain from the beginning to the end of their sovereignty in the collective Netherlands. The house of Burgundy—"*la casa de Burgoña*" as Philip II. was in the habit of saying—never neglected the task, either under the later Austrian branch or under the ancient ducal race. From the end of the fourteenth until the middle of the sixteenth century, there is an unmistakable unity of intentions seen in the historical development and a conscious striving toward the creation of a united Burgundian

state. Therefore the period in our history from about 1400 to the middle of the sixteenth century can rightfully be called the Burgundian Period.

JOHN WITHOUT FEAR

The valiant *John sans peur* (1404–1419) was a man of the same nature as his father. In his outer person there was little that was chivalrous, for he was small and crooked, but paternal traditions were strong in his heart. John was a hot-headed warrior and before his accession had won a reputation as count of Nevers, a knight after Froissart's own heart. He was the leader of an adventurous crusade against the Turks, in 1396, which ended in the subjection of Nicopolis. There he hoped to win his spurs and he journeyed as a prince's son with princely magnificence, surrounded by a brilliant retinue of Burgundian nobles. On the crusade, Burgundian luxury became notorious and the splendour of West and East was overshadowed by the gold and silver of their banners and garments, by the satin of their tents. The heir of Burgundy was undoubtedly the worthy leader of the flower of French chivalry in this afterpiece of the ancient crusades. But Sultan Bajazet fell on the brilliant troops unexpectedly and defeated them in a sanguinary battle. After brave resistance, John of Nevers and his most important comrades were taken prisoners. Their lives were spared in the midst of almost universal slaughter of the Christians, but they only obtained their freedom after payment of heavy ransoms. For years the court and provinces of Burgundy groaned under the debts incurred to meet this expense. Not until he received the full amount would the sultan set them free. Froissart relates how the conqueror spoke a word of encouragement to his noble prisoner, who had, indeed, won his spurs, declaring that he would not force him to take an oath to fight no more against the Turks. "I am not afraid to

contend with the Christians, for I was born for war and to conquer the world," said the sultan proudly. Thus John of Nevers returned from the East conquered, but not without reputation. He evinced the same valour in the English-French war and in the contest against the house of Orleans.

Like his father, he was always less a statesman than a warrior. For years the bitter family quarrel lasted between the two princes of the blood. From north to south, unhappy France was in arms, divided against herself. Paris was alternately in the hands of the two parties, who cared little about France and were not even united by the attacks of a foreign foe. The Orleanists were suspected of being in league with England, while it is certain that the Burgundian duke regarded the frightful defeat of the French nobles near Agincourt as a victory for his party. Nor did the combatants in this civil war scorn to stoop to assassination. In 1405, the chivalrous duke of Orleans had been murdered in the streets of Paris, and the murder of John without Fear in 1419, at a broil on the Yonne bridge at Montereau, was a vengeance for the first shameful crime, imputed, probably with justice, to the Burgundians. The dauphin was one of the bitterest foes of John without Fear.

PHILIP THE GOOD

John's son and successor, Philip, was above all a clever statesman and showed himself so when still count of Charolais. After the murder of his father in 1419, which was not reproved by the dauphin, he did not hesitate long in sealing an alliance against the Orleanists and the dauphin, with the ancient foe of France, the English. It was a serious crisis for the French empire, whose very existence was at stake. England and Burgundy stood ready to share the booty. Burgundy was to take possession of the northern and eastern parts of France, England

of the west. The dauphin was steadily driven back. Finally, Orleans with its immediate surroundings was the only territory over which the king of France had any jurisdiction, and even here his power was threatened by the Burgundian-English troops. It seemed as though the last hours of France had come and that on the ruins of the annihilated kingdom a new realm might arise under the Burgundian branch of the Valois. But it did not go so far. In the long war in which the Maid of Orleans awoke anew a national feeling in France, rent asunder as it had been, it was evident that the Burgundian and English policies differed very widely. The allies became alienated as soon as their prosperity weakened. They accused each other mutually of treacherous intentions. Their coöperation was not effective, and on both sides there was felt a necessity of ending the long war now that French authority seemed deeper rooted than had been thought. French nationality was a more virile growth than had been imagined. Duke Philip withdrew from the English-French war after the peace of Arras in 1435. From that time on Philip was the great duke of the west. He was in fact an independent prince whose sovereignty continually increased in the territory between France and Germany. The treaty of Arras established his relation with the French king, Charles VII., far less powerful than the previous representative of the French crown had been. Philip was first peer of France, but also French vassal. The treaty of Arras absolved him personally forever from all homage and submission in behalf of his French fief. Moreover, he received the Burgundian counties of Maçon and Auxerre, besides Bas sur Seine and smaller estates, which formed a valuable line of defence for Artois. The cities on the Somme could be bought back by the king, a stipulation which opened a way for the French crown to regain these important places.

Thus Philip was almost equal to his feudal chief, the French king, and was equally independent towards the German sovereign, the feudal chief of the estates which the duke had gradually acquired in ancient Lorraine by means of his political cunning and by the force of arms.

Neither the weak Wenzel nor his successor Ruprecht of the Palatine was in a condition to repress the waxing strength of Burgundy in the days of Philip the Bold and John without Fear. Futile protests, no less futile promises at the diets and diplomatic negotiations, were their only preventative measures. And their successor,—Sigismund ? In 1414, he took a stand against John without Fear in an attempt to maintain his authority in the west. The Burgundian thought it wise to yield and, in 1416, offered him homage at Calais for his German fiefs. This concession of the duke pacified Sigismund, but developments in Brabant, Holland, and Alsace in the time of Philip the Good speedily raised the same question. When Philip claimed Brabant and took arms against Jacqueline, when he attempted to put the Austrian duke aside in Alsace, Sigismund was steadily on his guard and used all his influence to thwart him. He never ceased protesting against Burgundian usurpation in the Netherland provinces as well as in Alsace and the Franche Comté. At the council of Basel, Philip acted as independent prince and insisted that his representatives should be placed on the same par as those of the German princes. Sigismund was forced to submit, as he was dependent in many points on the support of the mighty Burgundian, though, until his death in 1437, he never ceased protesting, both openly and in secret, against the usurpation of Burgundian power. King Albert, too, and his successor, Frederick III., were not in a position to bridle Burgundy. In 1442, Frederick finally resigned himself to the existing state of things in Holland, Zeeland, and Hainaut, as well as in Brabant, although the

real investiture of these and of other former Lorraine provinces was lacking. Philip demanded this repeatedly, and during the negotiations made no secret of his plan to form a royal Burgundy, a plan that was also the ideal of nearly all his successors.

This scheme was no secret to those who were watching events in the Netherlands. Charles VII. was perfectly aware of this feature of Burgundian policy as early as 1430. No sooner had the Maid of Orleans rescued Charles from the danger which menaced his royalty, than his first care was to counteract this tendency of Burgundian policy. Therefore, in 1430, he offered his help to the Austrian dukes whose possessions in Alsace were claimed by the Burgundian. The neighbouring imperial cities, Basel, Strasburg, Bern, and Zurich, the duke of Bavaria, and other members of the German empire were also advised by the French ambassadors. Charles pointed out that Philip through his then ally, the English king, who still regarded France as his property, had been invested with Champagne; that Flanders, Artois, Brabant, Hainaut, Namur, Holland, and Zealand were actually in Burgundian hands, and it was plainly the Burgundian policy to gain possession of all the region between the hereditary estates of Burgundy and the Netherlands and thus to form a united realm. Therefore he advised all small provinces, all the cities in the region, to resist Burgundy. The danger was specially imminent to the duchy of Lorraine, from which, in the course of the last century, a mass of little states, mainly ecclesiastical, had been formed. The French race of Anjou, represented by René, duke of Lorraine, was the medium of a combination against the Burgundian schemes in this region. Lorraine, Luxemburg,[1] and the Alsatian provinces of the house of Austria were to form an alliance and block the way to the ambitious Burgundian.

[1] This was not yet Burgundian.

For years Charles VII. worked to this end. After the peace of Arras he was freed from active hostilities with Burgundy, but not from his dread of Burgundian pretensions. His messengers visited a number of princes on the Rhine, a number of the imperial cities, and even Frederick III., who again estimated the danger lightly. For years the French king reiterated his warnings at the imperial diets, to the great annoyance of Duke Philip. In 1444, two expeditions under the command of the king and the dauphin in Switzerland and Lorraine, aimed to strengthen the duke of Lorraine and to enable him better to resist the Burgundian. The expeditions were only successful in part: the Swiss were defeated; Metz, Toul, Verdun, and several other cities were compelled to acknowledge the authority of Duke René; but just at that moment the vacillating German sovereign made an alliance with the duke of Burgundy. Duke René, too, was more interested in his plans for the kingdom of Naples than for those of his less important Lorraine territories. From that time, however, King Charles was continuously involved in intrigues against his ancient foe, who as steadily increased his realm and his influence. There is no doubt that Charles's suspicions were founded on truth, as is proved not only by Philip's actions, but later by his letters to Sigismund and his followers which have been found in the Vienna archives.

There is no doubt that Philip of Burgundy really cherished the scheme of reinstating the ancient kingdom of the Carlovingian Lothaire between France and the empire. In his negotiations he repeatedly reminded the emperor of the treaty of Verdun, which had defined the kingdom of Lothaire in the division of the Carlovingian realm. He urged that the ancient duchy of Lorraine had existed in the ninth century, without mentioning the realm of the Gaul Vercingetorix and the ancient kingdom of Austrasia described by the historian, Oliver de la Marche. Duke

Philip's far-seeing policy is evident in his plans for an invasion of Friesland, the heritage of the Holland counts; in his energetic interference with the affairs of the Sticht which has already been described; in the fact that he took part in the quarrels of Guelders, and in his forcible intrusion into the Münster troubles. Burgundian power was everywhere busy in laying the foundations for its possible expansion. This was very evident in 1447, during the tedious negotiations about the investiture of the duke in his Netherland and other fiefs by the German sovereign. At the diet at Besançon, where Frederick III. was represented by his brother Albert, an agreement was made between the houses of Austria and of Burgundy. The letters of investiture were actually prepared, but at the last moment the emperor, after long hesitation, drew back. Then Philip sent ambassadors to Vienna to consult with Frederick's councillors over the necessary measures to attain his end. There was, just then, talk of a marriage between Philip's oldest son, Count Charles of Charolais, and the heiress of Hungary. Had this taken place the Hungarian crown would have come to the Burgundian house. The heiress was the ward of the emperor. During the negotiations about the marriage there was talk, too, of a previously discussed project of the formation of a kingdom of Friesland, " that had always been a kingdom," or a kingdom of Brabant, "*qui est la plus ancienne et excellente duché de toute la chrestienneté.*" Casper Schlick, the emperor's most distinguished statesman, suggested the possibility of uniting " all the duchies, countships, and seigniories in the lower empire " under the authority of the duke of Burgundy. Philip answered with a carefully prepared proposal to establish a kingdom of Burgundy that should comprise not only all the Burgundian possessions, but Guelders, Jülich, Cleves, Mark, Meurs, Lorraine, Bar, etc.—in general, the provinces of the Carlovingian Lothaire, at least those

which lay north of the Jura. The central point of the new kingdom was to be Brussels, which had been made a ducal residence immediately after Philip's acquisition of Brabant in 1430.

Still, Frederick hesitated about taking the final step. If forced to it he was ready to agree to the establishment of a kingdom of Brabant to which all Burgundian fiefs should belong, "but," said the king more proudly than quite fitted his past actions, "he who bears the name of Augustus cannot diminish or split up his realm." Nevertheless, he had the necessary acts of investiture made out and, on November 13, 1447, directed his brother to receive the oath of fealty from Duke Philip. The Burgundian certainly could rightfully claim that he could have been king had he wished.

Now it was he who hesitated. He wanted nothing less than a kingdom of Burgundy with the boundaries of the ancient realm of Lothaire, which included Friesland as far as the Weser. In the following year there was still some discussion over it, but there were no results further than an alliance between the houses of Austria and of Burgundy, while the duke of Burgundy was simply confirmed in all his imperial fiefs (March, 1448). There was no further talk of a kingdom of Burgundy.

Philip was, nevertheless, a king in all but name. His court at Brussels, arranged after the French fashion, was more brilliant than that of the French king himself, to say nothing of the poverty-stricken surroundings of the German emperor. His retinue was more numerous than that of any other single prince in Western Europe. His order of the Golden Fleece was as highly honoured as that of the Garter or of St. Michel. The gorgeousness of his palace, the brilliancy of his festivals, the lavishness of his manner of life, awakened universal admiration in Europe.

A serious calamity menaced Europe, and it was to

Philip of Burgundy that all eyes turned for aid. About the middle of the century the Turks threatened an attack upon the western nations. A new conqueror had arisen in the race of Osman, Mohammed II., who renewed the traditions of Bajazet. As early as 1439 there was a feeling of uneasiness in Europe, when the Turks besieged Belgrade and threatened Hungary. The pope called on all believers for assistance. The duke of Burgundy lent ear to the call and sent a few ships to the Black Sea and to Rhodes, but the matter was not considered pressing. The news of the great defeat of the Christian princes at Varna (1444) excited new terror, and again the dread passed by. Then followed the tidings that Constantinople itself, the old capital of the Romans, was threatened by the Turkish conqueror. A strong leader was needed at once, and it was universally conceded that none was stronger than the son of the prince who had led the Christians on the fateful day of Nicopolis. Philip was at first reluctant to assume the rôle of commander in the war against the Turk, which would take him so far from his own lands, especially when Frederick III. and Charles VII., natural leaders on an expedition like this, excused themselves with half answers and procrastinating devices. Time was lost in futile negotiations, and thus the Sultan Mohammed captured Constantinople in 1453, without a blow being struck by the western Christians to defend the city from the aggressor. The Greek emperor perished on the walls of his capital, which was taken possession of by the Turks after a sanguinary struggle. The event made a deep impression in Europe, as is evident from the chronicles of nearly every city. An invasion of the Turks across Hungary was anticipated and dreaded, and plans against the Turks were pushed forward in earnest.

A German diet was summoned to meet in Regensburg, in 1454, to consider the question. Philip gave a great

festival at Lille and took an oath to undertake a crusade, a promise that was passionately repeated by his followers. It was the vow of the "pheasant," so named from the bird which was offered the duke according to ancient usage when a solemn resolution was to be made. Philip thus formally accepted the responsibility of the crusade which both emperor and French king shirked. His preparations were elaborate. The number of volunteers is rated at ten thousand, later at sixty thousand. But the campaign was postponed again and again. Philip's hesitation returned. He well knew that the French king was ever on the watch to injure him in one way or another, that many a Netherland province received French ambassadors from time to time. He had never forgotten that, in a furious revolt against his authority, Ghent and Bruges had counted on French aid. The relations between the courts of Brussels and Paris were often strained, and the enemies of one could be sure of a friendly reception at the other. This was very evident in 1456, when the dauphin, at odds with his father, sought refuge in Brabant, where he was warmly received. He actually sojourned in the provinces for years.

The Turks pressed on Hungary, and Pope Pius II. tried his best to bring the princes of Christendom to effective coöperation, but Philip became seriously alarmed about the possible plans of the French king to make use of his absence, so he hesitated about yielding to the pope's entreaty. On the other hand, he was displeased that the pope made overtures to both emperor and king to undertake the expedition. Both refused, and again eastern Christendom anxiously fixed their hope on the Burgundian, mightier than both emperor and king, and much more favourably inclined toward the project. In 1461, an eastern embassy composed of Persians, Armenians, and Mesopotamians appeared. Thus there came again the magi of the East toward the star which they

saw in the West, to beg effective aid from Duke Philip. But in vain. In the summer of that year the French king had died and his successor, Louis XI., although apparently friendly with the Burgundian court, which had once protected him from his father, now seemed less trustworthy than Charles. Philip answered the deputies in general terms and bound himself to nothing. The embassy really failed in its mission.

When the new king was anointed at Rheims, Philip paid homage for his French fiefs, but he distrusted his sovereign, and his doubts were speedily justified. Louis became a doughty opponent of the Burgundian sovereign, whose plans he had plainly seen through during his stay in Brabant. From the beginning we find the duke of Burgundy and his son, Charles of Charolais, in opposition to the French king, who, in the early years of his reign, had asked, "Is the duke of Burgundy, then, of different metal than the other princes of the kingdom?" From this period it was rather Charles than Philip who came into immediate conflict with Louis. From the time of his appearance in history, Louis XI. and Charles the Bold were in direct opposition, embittering the struggle between the French and Burgundian policies by personal hatred. In this struggle, the crafty Louis finally won the victory over the fiery warrior, whose nickname, "*le téméraire*," as translated into either Dutch or English, is not sufficiently different from that of his grandfather Philip, "*le hardi.*" *Overmoedig*, rash, was Charles the Bold, and his clever opponent made capital repeatedly from this very rashness. Even before the death of Philip the Good, a bitter conflict began between Burgundy and the feudal lord, and lasted, with some intermissions, until the peace of Château-Cambresis in 1559, and its later effects in the history of the northern and southern Netherlands are apparent long after this peace.

To the great annoyance of his son, Philip manifested

a certain willingness to comply with the desires of the French king. Philip's intellect grew weaker with his advancing years, and he was even persuaded to reconsider the postponed crusade. The pope hastened to take advantage of his hesitation of mind and reminded him of his solemn promises, of his honour as a knight, etc. In May, 1464, Philip declared his intention of setting sail from Aigues Mortes in Provence to wage war against the Turks. Accordingly, he again made all his arrangements for the period of his absence.

His son was bitterly opposed to the plan and sorely hurt at his father's weak attitude of submission toward Louis, and a violent quarrel ensued between father and son. Charles complained that his father lent ear too readily to the lord of Croy and to his other personal enemies, whom the heir accused, not wholly without justice, of being in the pay of the French king. The family quarrels were finally pacified by the Estates of Flanders, and the proud Charles was induced to humble himself to his father. He was only successful inasmuch as the old duke was alienated from Louis and renounced the crusade. In order to fulfil the pope's wishes and his own vows and promises, Philip sent his bastard son, Anthony, with a considerable force to Marseilles. After great difficulties the Burgundian fleet arrived at Ancona, but their plans were changed by the death of Pius II. Sickness and loss thinned the ranks, and Anthony led his troops home again, where they were greatly needed in the civil war which broke out anew in France.

The French nobles were filled with indignation at Louis's attempts to subject them to his authority, especially at his efforts to free the third estate from their tyranny. Under the leadership of the arch-enemy of the king, Count Charles, the strongest of the embittered vassals formed the League of Public Good, took arms against their sovereign, defeated him, and forced him to a peace

which was highly prejudicial to the royal authority (1465). From this moment Louis saw plainly that Burgundy must be subdued to ensure the development of royal power in France.

Three generations of the house of Burgundy had been rivals of the French kings. The fourth had to be conquered, cost what it might. Thus King Louis and Count Charles stood in opposition to each other in 1467, when Philip the Good died and was succeeded by his son.

CHARLES THE BOLD

Charles never lost sight of his father's plan of making Burgundy a kingdom, and worked to the same end, but with less patience and less diplomatic prudence. His passionate nature knew nothing of clever policy or prudent moderation. Louis XI. was as opposed to him in character as in sentiment. Philip de Comines, who served both princes, has left us a vivid picture of the two personalities, especially of that of the French prince, who, from his palace, spun a wide-spread net which finally entangled the imprudent duke, although he had occasionally succeeded in rending the web. We see the outbursts of impatience from the impetuous warrior, his contempt for the crafty ways of his rival, who ruined all his plans and at last ruined him. It is an interesting struggle, this bitter one between the crafty recluse skilled in knowledge of human nature, the skilled diplomat, and the chivalrous warrior, the presumptuous soldier, who, without hearkening to counsel, tried to solve all problems with a blow of his doughty sword, and at the end, through his mad rashness, through the treachery, too, of his own troops, was worsted, and, unrecognised, was slain by the hyenas on the battlefield, while his battle-shunning opponent lived for many years weaving his secret webs. Such is the tragic history of Louis XI. and Charles the

Bold, the famous duel of the fifteenth century, the strife between " the French spider and the Burgundian lion," as Chastelain says. And the sympathy of posterity more than that of the duke's oppressed contemporaries, rests with the conquered warrior rather than with the crafty, plotting king.

Wherever Charles turned, he found his royal opponent on his path; everywhere he found the traces of the secret workings of French diplomacy. Through him, Louis XI. hoped to strike a blow at the arrogant French nobility, at the princes of the blood who had dictated to him, the king, ever since their victory in 1465. In Charles, the leader in this contest against French royalty, in this champion of the feudal lords, Louis XI. was determined to crush permanently all resistance to an unlimited royal power. Their aim was to make the king a feudal suzerain without paramount individual influence, as the first princes of the house of Capet had been. His aim was to be a king, an absolute monarch, like Philip the Fair, his greatest predecessor.

Louis was fully aware of all the weak points in the Burgundian realm. He had learned them during his enforced stay in the Netherlands, where, too, he had cherished an enmity to Charles when the latter was but heir apparent. In those days he already justified his father's warning words, " My cousin of Burgundy does not know what he does. He shelters the fox who will steal his chickens." It was he who stirred up dissensions between Philip and Charles, using as his chief instrument Anthony de Croy, one of Duke Philip's favourites. Besides him and the lord of l'Isle Adam, the cunning prince won the adherence of many other influential nobles and officials in the duke's retinue. All these alliances proved serviceable to him, especially after Charles's death. It was Louis who aided the inhabitants of Liege in their revolts against Burgundian influence. It was Louis who renewed

the relations between the La Marks, turbulent lords of Sedan and Bouillon, and the French court, relations which confirmed French influence for more than a century in a very vulnerable spot of the body of Burgundian sovereignty. His father, too, had had friendly negotiations with the La Marks, and the savage William de la Mark, "the boar of the Ardennes," had proved a suitable person to further turbulence and disorder in the inaccessible region of the Ardennes. But when Dinant and Liege were brought to subjection by sack and pillage (November, 1467), when the troubles in Brabant and Flanders, incited by French agents, were punished in a sanguinary manner, and the indignant duke prepared anew an attack on the treacherous but unwarlike king, the latter came voluntarily to Charles at Péronne to blind his foe through this proof of confidence. At the time of the king's presence at Péronne in the power of his enemy, a new revolt broke out in Liege in which Louis's hand was evident.

The inflammable duke boiled with rage and would have prepared "*une mauvaise campagnie*," as Comines significantly says, for the king, had he not managed to bring his impetuous master to reason. For several days the king was in imminent danger. The very life of the spider (*universelle aragne*) seemed threatened, while his sovereignty was still more imperilled, a plan having been made to elevate his brother Charles, duke of Normandy, in his place. At the last moment the duke decided to respect the letter of safe-conduct given to his suzerain and to allow Louis to depart in peace after pledging his aid in allaying the revolt in Liege and his recognition of the old Burgundian conventions, especially that of Arras in 1435. Louis, warned by Comines that delays were dangerous, readily agreed to free Flanders from the jurisdiction of the court of Paris, and to relinquish royal imposts in Picardy. Upon the holiest cross that Louis recognised,

on the cross of Charlemagne, the king swore solemnly never to break the treaty of Péronne. Then he accompanied the duke on the frightful campaign of vengeance against Liege. From that time on, the bishops of Liege were virtually Burgundian. By means of these concessions the king had hoped to induce the duke to acknowledge him as suzerain of Flanders, Burgundy, and of the other Burgundian territories. This aim failed. Charles never paid homage.

In 1468, Charles married Margaret, sister of Edward IV. of England, from the house of York, and became entangled in the wars of the Roses. Here, too, he came in opposition to Louis XI., the protector of the last Lancasters. The war was full of vicissitudes and not confined to English soil. There were expeditions to Picardy in which English and French fought on both sides. Here, too, Burgundian policy was, in the end, successful. With Burgundian help Edward made himself master of England and was ready to aid his brother-in-law in turn. The duke's schemes were on a grand scale and adventurous. France, so planned Charles, should be split in five or six parts and thus rendered harmless for good and all. "For one king such as we have, I would like six," Charles said once to Comines, jesting at the assertion that he was going to annihilate royal power in France. That was evidently the plan about 1470, but Charles did not rest content with that.

The Burgundian kingdom was to comprise all Lorraine and Alsace, besides Champagne, which had once been granted to his father by England. Guelders, previously almost independent, was taken possession of by Charles in 1473. Friesland, torn in twain by civil troubles, was open to subjection at any moment. Utrecht was under a Burgundian bishop and could be surely reckoned on for the Burgundian kingdom. All this had been in Philip's dream, but Charles did not confine himself to these plans,

ambitious as they were. He had taken the Austrian territories in Alsace, the Sundgau, and the remaining part of the countship of Alsace, besides the Breisgau and other regions in Swabia, on a mortgage from the Austrian duke, Sigismund. Already he had fixed his eye on Switzerland and Savoy, yes, on Dauphiny and Provence. No longer the Jura but the Mediterranean was to be the boundary of the new Burgundy, of the great middle European kingdom that was to replace that of Lothaire, the Carlovingian. He had a distinct vision not only of the Burgundian crown but of the German crown as well. What could the insignificant Frederick III. refuse him ? What was there to fear from the humiliated French king ?

Little resulted from these all-embracing plans. In 1473 the great duke was at the summit of his power. In a sanguinary war he had repeatedly penetrated into north France, had worked devastation in Normandy, where his Burgundian-English troops made themselves at home in a frightful manner. A truce concluded a series of his ravaging campaigns.

The time seemed at hand for the fulfilment of the long-dreamed-of plans. But maturity and decay were co-existent. At this epoch Comines, one of the duke's cleverest councillors and one whose advice he occasionally followed, deserted him and entered the service of his deadly foe, Louis XI. Comines had perceived with his clear statesman's foresight what was the tendency of the boundless ambition of the duke, who followed nothing and no one but his own desires, his own whims. He deserted the sinking ship in time, attracted by the masterly policy of the prudent French prince, whose policy he penetrated with inimitable talent and delineated in his remarkable memoirs.

Let us see how the plans of Burgundy really failed. The price for the establishment of the Burgundian kingdom, with Charles appointed as vicar of the empire, was

very attractive to the emperor. Charles had only one daughter, whom he promised in marriage to Maximilian, the emperor's son, who would thus unite the rich Burgundian hereditary possessions to those of Austria. Still it was not so easy to win this prize. Charles had promised his daughter to various other princes in the same way, to the young Duke Nicholas of Lorraine, for example. He died suddenly in 1474, and Lorraine fell to a side line of the house of Anjou, represented just then by the young duke René II., whom Charles had seized and carried to Treves where he was staying with the emperor. It was, moreover, possible that Charles, not yet forty, was not over-anxious to find a son-in-law, who might hinder him in his action. On September 29, 1474, a memorable conference was opened at Treves, when emperor and duke were to discuss the ambitious plans for the future of the races of Austria and Burgundy. Brilliant was the retinue with which the mighty duke made his entry into the episcopal city. All the magnificence of the rich and splendour-loving Burgundian court was exhibited in princely manner, to the humiliation and annoyance of the poor and simple German nobles, accustomed to the niggardly court of an emperor who never had known aught but poverty. But the dazzling splendour of armour, the princely luxury of tapestry and jewels, the superfluous gold and silver of the liveries and furniture,—all was ill suited to free the ever-hesitating emperor from his distrust toward the Burgundian. Secretly approached by the French agents, who lost no opportunity of warning him against Charles, the emperor became suspicious at certain expressions of the duke, from which it appeared that the desired prize, the hand of the heiress, might possibly escape his son. The negotiations dragged on until November, and the emperor agreed to every demand. Charles paid homage for his German fiefs and for Guelders. Everything was arranged for the coronation.

Burgundy was to be the name of the new kingdom, which was to be established according to the old schemes of Duke Philip. The betrothal of Mary and Maximilian was to take place at the same time. All was ready: day, hour, and place were appointed. The very crown and sceptre, throne and ceremonials, were prepared when suddenly, at the last moment, the emperor became suspicious and fled from Treves in the darkness on the very eve of the appointed day and reached Cologne without stay or hindrance. Charles was furious at this unexpected behaviour, but determined to complete his previous plan and, in the meanwhile, to strengthen his power. He exerted himself to pacify the timid emperor. All kinds of plans coursed through his brain in relation to Switzerland, to Cologne, to Lorraine, to Alsace. In feverish haste he stretched out his hand in an effort to grasp everything at the same time. At the end he hoped to find the anxiously hoped-for kingly crown.

In the following spring he had just reopened negotiations with Frederick when he heard the news of the judicial murder of his governor of Alsace, Peter van Hagenbach, a wild character who had ruled over the lately conquered land with capricious despotism wholly in the spirit of the duke. In the same spring, Charles had visited his newly acquired realm in the Netherlands and heaped favours upon his trusty servants, while he had declared everywhere that he was about to restore the old Burgundian kingdom of the tenth century. A universal shriek of dismay in the territories on the Middle and Upper Rhine followed this imprudent disclosure, and Louis XI. took the opportunity of making what his father had once attempted,—an alliance of princes and cities against Burgundy, under the protection and leadership of France.

On March 23, 1474, a great league was formed at Constance in which Duke Sigismund of Austria, the mar-

grave of Baden, and the bishops of Basel and Strasburg, besides the city of Basel, the five cities of Alsace, and the Swiss cantons, joined under guaranty of France. Duke Sigismund was enabled by the rich Rhine cities to redeem the mortgage on Burgundy and offered the duke payment of the loan. In Alsace the whole population rose against the oppressive Burgundian rule, and, as already said, Hagenbach was tried by an extraordinary tribunal and condemned to die on the scaffold at Breisach in May. The Swiss cantons concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with Louis XI.

While serious dangers thus threatened, Duke Charles was very busy with his plans for the conquest of Cologne. With a brilliant army he invaded the territory of the archbishop. The well equipped Burgundian army, aggregating some sixty thousand men, was employed for the siege of Neuss, a small but important city. Great was the interest of the entire German empire in this affair, which at last opened the eyes of nobles and municipalities to the danger threatening the empire from Burgundy. German troops were collected from all sides at the summons of the emperor, and a great German army under William de la Mark was formed on the right bank of the Rhine to relieve Neuss.

But Charles was not driven from the siege. Neither the revolt in Alsace nor the incursions of the Swiss into Burgundy, nor the mediation of the pope and the king of Denmark, nor the deputies of Edward IV. could induce the headstrong duke to leave his station before Neuss, and to relinquish his plots against Cologne. The long-expected defection of Lorraine, whose duke joined the alliance against Burgundy, did not move him, nor did the severe winter, which harassed his troops.

He was blind to everything. "*Et luy avoit Dieu troublé le sens et l'entendement,*" says Comines bitterly. In spite of the dangers which threatened him from all

sides, Charles remained obstinately before Neuss. In the spring of 1475, the troops of Louis in Picardy, the Lorrainers in Luxemburg, the Swiss in Burgundy, the German army on the Rhine, were all reinforced. The Burgundian kingdom seemed to have fallen to pieces behind Charles's back. The Estates of his various provinces roundly refused to meet his heavy war expenses, and angry murmurs began to be heard among his own unpaid troops. When Charles finally relinquished the siege (June, 1475) it had lasted eleven months, and Neuss was really on the point of yielding. A truce with the emperor left him a free hand against Louis. With the wretched remnant of his brilliant army, thoroughly disorganised from the misery of the long siege, the duke finally made an alliance with Edward IV., who was planning an expedition into France. But his power was broken, his troops were discouraged, his treasury exhausted, and the English, disappointed in their expectations, made a speedy peace.

With great difficulty Charles squeezed large additional sums from his Flemish and Netherland subjects. With this reimbursement he hired a number of Italian troops, plunder-seeking bodies, hirelings without feeling of truth or honour. His preparations seemed so effective that Louis was induced to reopen friendly negotiations with him and, following the emperor's example, closed a nine-years' truce with his dreaded rival. Thus Charles held a free hand against his enemies in the south, who were now left in the lurch by the emperor and the king. With remnants of his old armies and the mercenaries, he invaded Lorraine, conquered Nancy, and received homage as duke, promising to make the city his residence (November, 1475). When it suited his purpose, the impetuous despot could be gracious and unbending. Now he flattered the Lorrainers and talked enthusiastically of the great Austrasian realm.

The outlook seemed wonderfully favourable. Lorraine was won, and thus the long-desired bridge was formed between Burgundy and Luxemburg. Visions of the blooming meadows of Provence, of the proud Alps of Savoy, the plains of Lombardy, yes, even of sunny Naples, were cherished by the duke. The old dream, the kingdom of the Carlovingian Lothaire, was on the point of realisation. His sovereignty was to extend to Italy itself.

But he failed from lack of skill and tact. The hot-headed warrior never lent his ear to good advice. "*Son cœur ne s'amollit jamais,*" says Comines, who had learned to know the duke in his years of service. Instead of making sure of Lorraine, Charles threw himself on Switzerland after obtaining the aid of Milan, Savoy, and Geneva. Granson, a strong town in the canton of Vaud, was taken, and the Swiss defenders were drowned or beheaded without mercy.

Immediately afterward the embittered Swiss engaged Charles in battle near Granson (March 2, 1476). The fine Burgundian army with its well equipped artillery and brilliant retinue of knights was scattered by the valiant peasants, urged on to the conflict by the sound of gigantic Alpine horns which were said to have been the gift of Charlemagne himself. A panic seized on the Burgundians, whose duke made a valiant resistance, and then, shouting "*Sauve qui peut,*" took to flight, leaving all his treasures behind. His ducal seal, his gala sword, his order of the Fleece, his diamonds, were all lost, and many were sold for a trifle by the simple Swiss to purchasers who knew the value of the articles as the sellers did not.

The duke, overcome in battle for the first time in his life, fell into a condition of half insanity, a condition from which an Italian physician succeeded in rousing him. Then he devoted himself to refitting his army at Lausanne, reckoning on help from Savoy, the ancient foe of the Swiss. By the early summer his energy had obtained

for him a complete force, and once more he pressed through Vaud towards Bern and laid siege to the fortified village of Murten, the bulwark of Bern. On June 21st, the Swiss army was reinforced by a mass of knights and burghers from Swabia, Alsace, and Lorraine, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, all animated by bitter hatred against the Burgundian. On his side were about the same number of soldiers besides a force of fine artillery. "No quarter" was the cry in both armies. The allies were victorious. A panic ensued and the duke was not in safety until he reached Geneva. Almost half the number of his soldiers was slain by the Swiss. They were determined never to fight the same foe again.

The defeated prince again fell into a state of profound depression that bordered on insanity. He shut himself up for two months in a secluded castle near Pontarlier in the Jura, smarting over his misfortune. His ideal seemed shattered forever, his sovereignty seemed annihilated. His allies fell off. His subjects declared roundly that they were at an end with their money. His daughter Mary was virtually a prisoner among the Flemings. And in the midst of the universal confusion, the duke remained week after week in his secluded castle, still the terror of subjects and neighbours, who anxiously awaited the close of the terrible drama.

The final disaster was not long in coming. An invasion of Duke René of Lorraine, who made use of the opportunity to recover his lost duchy, awakened Charles from his apathy. He collected a new army and laid siege to Nancy, which René had taken possession of, the chosen capital of the brilliant kingdom of his dreams. But his luck had left him. He was more and more embittered by continuous adversity. He used the whole force, collected with such difficulty, for the wearisome siege, which lasted far into the winter. His most trusted servants began to despair, especially when he treated them

in the harshest manner and showed confidence in no one except a Neapolitan adventurer, Count Campobasso, who had promised to betray to him King Louis and Duke René. The latter finally succeeded in collecting a force of Swiss and Germans and attacked the Burgundians before Nancy. They were weakened by an unexpected defection of Campobasso's troops and had moreover lost their trust in Charles, so that they were consequently in ill condition to make resistance.

On January 5, 1477, the Lorraine army began the attack. The Swiss Alpine horns sounded again; a sudden panic seized on the troops of Burgundy. The valiant duke tried to stem the disorder. With his own sword he drove back his men, but his efforts were in vain here as at Granson and at Murten. His troops were defeated and scattered. Charles fell by the hand of an unknown warrior at the edge of a pond, where his body was discovered on the following day with his face fast frozen into the pool, and almost unrecognisable by the ill-treatment of the plunderers who had stripped it naked. Thus perished Charles the Bold.

It was a death worthy of his life. He was barely forty years old, a man who had made a profound impression on the world, one of the greatest warriors of modern times, a just, able, and noble thinking ruler of whom his former servant Comines justly said, "He had fine and admirable qualities."

Nevertheless subjects and neighbours heard the news of his death with a sigh of relief.

MARY AND MAXIMILIAN

The battle of Nancy was the beginning of a dreary epoch for the duke's subjects. He left no son. His only daughter, Mary, Mademoiselle of Burgundy, had again been promised in marriage to Maximilian of Aus-

tria in the spring of 1476, but it was only a betrothal on paper. Maximilian, however, at once took it upon himself to visit the Netherlands to see what could be rescued from the rich heritage of Burgundy. There was, indeed, need for him to take vigorous measures to prevent the snapping asunder of all bonds between the provinces. Some portions fell immediately. King Louis, who had wished the Burgundian heiress for his seventeen-year-old son, deliberated upon his most advantageous course. A quick and clever action might have won the whole game, but the otherwise so clear-sighted prince was probably still dazed by Charles's sudden fall, and hesitated about the marriage plans, which had to be decided instantly, while Mary herself was opposed to what she feared was a ruse of her father's old enemy. Louis was, however, successful in regaining possession of the duchy of Burgundy. It was a fief held by male vassals and thus lapsed to the French crown. He also persuaded the Estates of the Franche Comté to accept his so-called protection. Further, he made himself master in Artois and Picardy with the consent of the French-sympathising inhabitants, while Hainaut was in part occupied by French troops.

It was a question what Flanders would do,—Flanders where poor Mary the "Rich" was held in half captivity. French agents were at work in the principal Flemish cities. French troops threatened the Flemish borders. French-sympathising nobles and officials, long in negotiations with the king, yes, even in his pay, tried to ally Mary with her hereditary foe by marriage with the dauphin. But in Flanders the hatred against France flamed out anew at the thought of incorporation into her realm. On February 3, 1477, the States-General met at Ghent on the summons of the two princesses, the dowager duchess and the young Duchess Mary. There were deputies from Brabant, Flanders, Artois, and Namur;

later also came those from Holland and Zealand, who in this critical period sided with the two duchesses. Their first demand was for redress of all grievances which had accumulated under the arbitrary government of the dead prince. Mary could only save her sovereignty by complete submission to their demands. This she did by signing the Great Privilege of February 11, 1477, "*le Grand Privilege des Etats de par-deça.*" Her power was limited and restricted by this important act. First of all, the hated court of Mechlin, the central court of justice for all the Burgundian territories, was abolished; a Great Council was established, consisting of a chancellor and twenty-four members chosen by the duchess from the various states, to assist her in the administration of the provinces. All the ordinances of the duke which conflicted with ancient privileges were abolished. The right of declaration of war was made dependent on the consent of the States-General. The States-General and Estates of the provinces were empowered to meet on their own authority. The subjects were at liberty to refuse obedience if the duchess overstepped the stipulations. Only with conditions which strictly limited the sovereign power was Mary able to obtain financial and military help for the defence of her realm. She consented, and thirty-four thousand men were at once placed at her disposal by her united states. And these concessions were not all. Flanders, Holland, Namur, all forced especial charters from the duchess, all called Great Privileges. This was the occasion when Brabant obtained her famous *Joyeuse Entrée*. The cities, individually, followed the example offered by the states. The sovereign power was sharply circumscribed in many ways.

The extent of the confusion in the Burgundian lands in 1477 is plain from the incident of the negotiations of the lords Hugonet and Humbercourt, influential officials of Charles the Bold. Making use of a treacherous letter

sent by the two to Louis XI., in which they promised to deliver the duchess to him, make her marry the dauphin, and thus give the entire Burgundian heritage to France, the States-General threw the lords in prison. An extraordinary court sentenced them and, in spite of the pleadings of the duchess, the two lords were beheaded on the Friday's market-place at Ghent with the angry approval of the excited populace. Similar events were enacted at Brussels, Antwerp, Ypres, Mons, and elsewhere. Everywhere the people manifested their hatred for the officials of the dead tyrant.

It was a frightful time, still the princess succeeded in holding her own and in wielding the government, although practically a prisoner, and the States-General remained loyal to her. The most important question calling for an immediate solution was that of her marriage. The list of suitors was long: Maximilian; the dauphin; the duke of Guelders, whose duchy had declared for him immediately after the battle of Nancy; the son of the duke of Cleves; his cousin, the young lord of Ravestein, with whom Mary had been brought up, besides two English princes, proposed by Edward IV. and his sister, Mary's mother. In April the heiress declared for the archduke, to whom she had sent a betrothal ring, and in August the marriage was celebrated at Bruges in the greatest simplicity, before a few witnesses. The simplicity ill fitted the importance of the event. The house of Austria had won the heritage of Burgundy and the fate of the Netherland provinces was decided for a long period.

It was, however, fifteen years before Maximilian could be said to have gained the Netherlands for his race. They were fifteen hard years for the provinces as well as for Maximilian. This prince was full of adventurous plans, was chivalrous, valiant, audacious, but no man for

a strong policy. He was, too, seriously hampered by the same pinching poverty that had also hindered his imperial father from playing a great rôle both at home and abroad. Poverty and uncertainty of plans were great obstacles in his whole career as king of the Romans and as emperor, and were the chief causes of his first defeats and disappointments in the Netherlands. Still he never lost courage and finally triumphed over his foes. Through the possession of the Burgundian heritage, or at least of the major part, rescued from the shipwreck of Charles's fortune, he laid the foundation for the greatness of his race. There was, however, no more talk of a kingdom of Burgundy. That was grouped for ever among the historical "might-have-beens." The life of the young duchess proved too short for her to unravel the tangled skein of the affairs of the provinces, whose problems she had inherited with the sovereignty. Five years after her marriage Mary of Burgundy died from the effects of a fall on the hunting field. She left two children, Philip and Margaret, and the four-year-old son inherited her ducal authority over her subjects with all their various characters and ambitions. As guardian, Maximilian had to meet the difficulties alone and render an account to the burghers, who retained all the power they could and contested every other point.

In 1479, the archduke had succeeded in defeating the French troops near Guinegate in Artois and thereby saving Flanders. In 1482, he made a treaty with Louis at Arras in which it was stipulated that Artois and the Franche Comté, with certain other Burgundian territories, were to be given to Maximilian's daughter Margaret as a dowry on her marriage with the dauphin. Two years later Louis XI. died, but in spite of being freed from this ancient enemy, and with other important advantages gained, the position of Maximilian remained very uncertain. His nomination as king of the Romans,

in 1486, gave him a fine title but little power. Even in the Netherlands Maximilian was never able to maintain any real authority as regent for his son. The Flemings were so little submissive that they repeatedly held him and his children as hostages, as they had Mary in earlier times, and rose in open rebellion. Maximilian was rather their distrusted protégé than their *mambour*, or regent, and he failed to make himself popular in the provinces. In Holland and Zealand dire confusion prevailed, due to the violent party quarrels of the Hooks and Cods. In Guelders and Utrecht the Burgundian authority counted for absolutely nothing at this time and in the latter place the confusion was as great as in Holland. Immediately after the battle of Nancy, the Liege people had thrown off the Burgundian yoke. The wild boar of the Ardennes, William de la Mark, had nursed his old feud against Burgundy and neglected no opportunity of opposing Maximilian until his death.

In the other provinces of Burgundy, Maximilian was acknowledged as regent and governor in behalf of his son, but in Flanders, where Philip and his sister Margaret were detained in Ghent, just as their mother had been in the spring of 1477, he was vigorously opposed. Tyranny had once been experienced there under the Burgundians, at the cost of popular liberty. The Flemings longed for a return of the " good days " of the house of Dampierre, when the sovereignty of the overlords was curbed and the city governments were supreme, sometimes with and sometimes without the guilds.

Disregarding Maximilian entirely, they made a treaty with France and Arras in which the marriage of Margaret with the dauphin was the chief item. The archduke was compelled to approve it (December 23, 1482) and to resign the guardianship of his daughter.

He found that it was necessary to make temporary concessions in order to gain power later on when his regency

was acknowledged. He appointed Philip of Cleves, the son of Lord Adolph of Ravestein, as stadtholder in the South, while he went to Holland in person to put a stop to the disorders of the Hooks, who, since the death of Charles the Bold, had become identified with the anti-Burgundian party in Utrecht. Led by the Utrecht lord of Montfort and their ancient ringleaders, the Brederodes, Hook troops had made themselves masters of Leyden in 1481, and were ejected from the city with the greatest difficulty. After Mary's death they revolted, took arms, and attacked Holland from the side of Utrecht. But after a sanguinary battle, Maximilian succeeded in suppressing the Hooks and in subduing Utrecht. The Hook exiles took refuge in Flanders and found safe quarters in Sluis, whence their ringleaders, John of Naaldwijk and Francis of Brederode, did not cease to harry the Holland coasts and to render waterways insecure with their ships. It was clear that Maximilian would be obliged to subdue Flanders before he could be master in the Netherlands. There they were willing to acknowledge the suzerainty of the French king, so bitter was the hatred against the Burgundian dynasty.

With a large force the archduke pressed into Flanders from Brabant, gained possession of Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Ninove, and Gramsberg, defeated the Ghenters, and forced the Flemings to submission so that they finally restored his son Philip to him (July, 1485). A fierce revolt within the city walls was vigorously suppressed. The Ghenters renounced their old privileges and had to allow the documents to be taken from the chest before the eyes of the magistrates and torn up. When the Netherlanders seemed fairly pacified, Maximilian betook himself to Germany, and was duly crowned king of the Romans at Aix in April, 1486. But the troubles were not wholly at an end. War with France broke out anew in the spring and a serious defeat near Béthune (August, 1487)

again endangered his unstable authority in the Netherlands. The Flemings showed their hand unmistakably after the defeat of the hated regent. Popular animosity was wreaked on Maximilian's German troops, who had domesticated themselves in a frightful manner in Hainaut and Flanders, in Brabant, and in Namur, and inflicted more damage than the enemy.

The standard of rebellion was raised in February, 1488, at Ghent and at Bruges. Maximilian was decoyed into the latter city, and actually incarcerated in Cranenburg, a house on the market-place. His authority as *mambour* was wholly destroyed, the French party gained the ascendant, and the French king was actually appointed guardian of Philip.

For seven months Maximilian remained a prisoner, in danger of losing his life or of being delivered to France. The other provinces troubled themselves little about his fate. The States-General of those provinces met at Mechlin at the bidding of young Philip, just then in Brabant, but they did little for the regent. At the request of the rebellious Flemings, they consented to send deputies to Ghent, still it was clear that they were ready to use the opportunity to force concessions from the Roman king. They agreed with the Flemings that this was the time to strengthen their own authority and limit that of the sovereign. Not until he had sworn to maintain the new convention was Maximilian freed (May, 1488). The liberation was possibly hastened by the tidings that the emperor had gathered an army to release his son.

Maximilian was forced to submit to bitter humiliation at Bruges. He had to promise to remove his troops from the Netherlands, to resign the regency in Flanders, and to establish a council in which the Flemish deputies should be predominant. His son was to be placed under the guardianship of a council of Netherland nobles, kin to the Burgundian family. Maximilian pledged himself

with the most solemn oaths to keep the treaty of Arras, and in case of his failure so to do, his subjects and nobles were absolved from their oath to him. He left, moreover, eight hostages at Bruges and Ghent, among whom were two German nobles and his best commander, Philip of Cleves. The last named promised to take arms against Maximilian if he failed to observe the treaty. And Maximilian promptly failed to observe it. Scarcely had he arrived in his father's camp at Louvain when the emperor and the lords of the empire advised him to break his oath. He finally yielded to their persuasion on the plea that he had acted contrary to his oath as king of the Romans, and to that of regent in behalf of his son. He depended, moreover, on the twenty thousand men whom his father had placed at his disposal to avenge the humiliation and insults inflicted on him by Flanders. The Flemings accepted the leadership of Philip of Cleves, who had for some time played a double game, and put themselves in a state of defence with the aid of French troops.

The imperial army was unequal to the task of subduing the Flemings. After a few skirmishes, it fell asunder, and emperor and king were forced to abandon Flanders with a small remnant of their force, pursued by Philip of Cleves with his French and Flemish troops. Brussels, Louvain, Tienen, and the whole of southern Brabant fell into the hands of the Flemings, and Brabant showed a willingness to renounce Maximilian as guardian to his son. He had been suspected of wishing to declare himself as sovereign in the province at the expense of Philip, and feeling ran high against him. At the same time the troubles began again in Holland. With Sluis in Flanders as headquarters, the Hooks gained possession of Rotterdam and harassed the country around with marauding expeditions.

In this dire need, Maximilian placed the fate of the

Netherland provinces in the hands of the valiant duke, Albert of Saxe-Meissen. He had come in the train of the emperor, a rough but gallant soldier, a true free-lance leader, a *condottiere* such as Italy frequently produced, a man educated in the midst of men-at-arms who worshipped him. A consummate commander, born for the petty warfare which was waged in the Netherlands, Duke Albert seemed the very person to restore order. Maximilian appointed him stadtholder over all the Netherlands, and he himself returned to Germany.

Aided by the Cod party of Holland, the ancient adherents of the Burgundian dynasty, by the Walloon Hainauters, and by his own German lances, Albert began to wage a guerrilla warfare from Antwerp and Mechlin, and harried Flanders, Brabant, Liege, Namur, Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. Philip of Cleves in Flanders, Francis of Brederode in Holland and Zealand, John of Montfort in Utrecht, Robert de la Mark in Liege, offered vigorous resistance, but were forced to yield one city after another to the tireless warrior. His lieutenants, Count Engelbert of Nassau and Wilwolt of Schaumburg, aided him valiantly. Philip of Cleves was driven back into Flanders and the last places of refuge for the disaffected, Ghent and Sluis, fell in the summer of 1492. Philip of Cleves, "God's friend and the world's foe," finally succumbed to the great captain and entered French service.

With the fall of Sluis the fate of the northern provinces was decided. Rotterdam had already been taken from the Hooks by the Cods after a six months' siege, in 1489. Montfort had capitulated in the following year. After that, Sluis remained the single point held by the Hooks, whose marauding expeditions were made thence under John of Naaldwijk after the death of Francis of Brederode.

In 1491, Holland was further affected seriously by a

revolt among the West Frisian peasants. This was promptly quelled by the duke. By 1492 he was able to announce to the king of the Romans that the Burgundian provinces were completely subdued. The fifteen years' storm had wasted its fury, and Maximilian was in a position to entrust the government of the Netherlands to his son, especially when the peace of Senlis (May, 1493) diminished danger from the side of France. In this treaty, Charles VIII. of France relinquished Burgundy and Artois, but held temporarily the cities of Hesdin, Aire, and Béthune as pledges, until young Philip should have attained his majority and paid homage. The marriage of King Charles with Margaret fell through, and the rejected princess, who had spent ten years in France, returned to the Netherlands. Thus the question of the suzerainty of France over a portion of the Netherlands still remained undetermined; and continued to be an inexhaustible source of quarrels and difficulties during the years succeeding.

In the fifteen years, the idea of the close union of the Netherlands, of the connection between the various provinces, was vigorously maintained by a factor that owed its origin to the third Burgundian duke. From the reign of Duke Philip, especially in 1465, the States of the various provinces repeatedly assembled at the summons of the sovereign to deliberate about common needs, especially in regard to finance. Charles the Bold, too, had continued these assemblies of the States-General. The last one of his reign met at Ghent, where mutual protection against threatening hostile invasion was discussed. In the early years of Mary's reign they dominated the daughter of the great duke and her husband in many points.

Still greater was the power of the assemblies of deputies of all the provinces after the death of Mary of Burgundy. In 1482, Maximilian talked about a great

gathering of the States, urging that the provinces belonged together and could only exist with close interdependence. His spouse also expressed this desire on her death-bed, in order that the provinces, thus united by a common bond, should be preserved intact for her children. In the following year, too, the States-General met repeatedly. The most important occasion was that of April, 1488, during the imprisonment of Maximilian at Bruges. Then, under the pressure of the alarming situation, a nearer union was formed at Ghent by the assembled deputies of Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut, Zealand, and Namur, in which, besides the Burgundian provinces, Utrecht and Liege were to take part.

The significance of these great assemblies of the States is usually underestimated. There the Netherland provinces, different as they were in origin and in social conditions, evinced the need they felt for coöperation for the universal good. There was born a comprehension of mutual coherence under the pressure of difficult circumstances. There the inhabitants of the north and south—already united under the Burgundian sceptre—began first to feel and to act as the inhabitants of one state, the state of Burgundy which dukes Philip and Charles had dreamed of. In this way, the first regency of Maximilian operated toward the confirmation of a Burgundian monarchy, albeit it was not as great as Charles the Bold had dreamed of and not so coherent as could be desired.

When Philip the Fair was entrusted with the government after the elevation of his father to the imperial dignity (1494), the young sovereign was able to call the greater part of the Burgundian heritage his own. Artois and the Franche Comté, Flanders, Brabant, Luxemburg, Hainaut, Namur, Holland, and Zealand were all forced to obedience after the cessation of party strife. Guelders, Utrecht, and Liege had regained a virtual independence, so seriously menaced in the days of Charles the

Bold. The realm of Philip the Fair was limited to the Netherlands and thus was considerably smaller than that of his grandfather, Philip the Good, as the duchy of Burgundy had lapsed to France. Still it could easily be the kernel from which a strong hand could form a noble realm, a Netherland kingdom.

PHILIP THE FAIR AND MAXIMILIAN

Philip the Fair, nicknamed by his contemporaries *Croit Conseil*, was not, however, the strong hand. He succeeded in forcing the young duke of Guelders to acknowledge Burgundian authority, but he neglected making use of the difficulties in which the French monarchy was involved in Italy, to recover the lost portions of the Burgundian heritage, or at least to break free from the suzerainty of France. In 1495, he paid homage to Charles VIII. for Flanders. He had need of all his forces to establish a central government.

Meanwhile his marriage to the Spanish princess, Johanna, opened a new and brilliant future for Philip and his race far beyond the imagination of Charles the Bold. In 1505, the crown of Castile fell to Philip after the death of the Spanish heirs and of the famous Queen Isabella. In the following spring the son of Mary of Burgundy and Emperor Maximilian betook himself to Spain for the second time to ascend the new throne with his spouse, to wield the sovereignty over a realm that united the newly discovered lands in America to the greater portion of Spain. He had many difficulties to surmount, caused, in the first place, by the counter-workings of his father-in-law, who was annoyed at seeing him wear the crown which had been his own as the husband of Queen Isabella. Moreover, at this epoch, the relations of the growing Burgundian monarchy to England aroused suspicion from both sides.

The house of Lancaster ruling England in the fifteenth century had, primarily, supported the Burgundian princes against France. Later in the century the alliance with the house of York had drawn Charles the Bold into the civil quarrels of the great island. This alliance brought Maximilian and his son more or less into opposition with Henry Tudor, who ruled England as Henry VII. With the close commercial relation between England and the Netherland provinces, enmities between the ruling princes were very serious matters, especially when repeated attempts were made from the Netherlands to awaken opposition to the new king. On the second expedition of Philip to Spain a storm drove his ship into an English port, and King Henry made use of his control of the situation to force a commercial treaty from the young prince, the so-called *Malus intercursus*, which was favourable to England and disadvantageous to the merchants of the Netherlands. In addition to making this concession, Philip had to deliver to Henry one of the York refugees who had taken shelter in the Netherlands, the Earl of Suffolk. Thus the relations with England were somewhat strained although there was no talk of open hostilities. The throne of the Tudors was not on a sufficiently firm foundation for them to risk a war against the Netherlands. Calais, too, had to be considered. It was the last remnant of English possession in France and the chief English commercial port on the continent, the centre of the wool trade and thus highly important to the Netherlands. Common dread of France drove the Burgundian ruler and the English king to coöperation against their common foe.

At Windsor a dynastic alliance was planned which was to reëstablish the international relations of the time of Charles the Bold. Philip's sister, the oft-betrothed Margaret, was promised to the English king. This particular scheme fell through, but later Henry's son married Catherine of Aragon, Philip's sister-in-law. The young

sovereign of Castile, of Leon, and of Granada, had brief enjoyment of his new dignities. In 1506 he died. The period of his reign was just long enough to pave the way for a national hatred between the Spaniards and the Netherlanders, induced by the favours which Philip heaped on his Netherland followers in Spain,—a hatred which had serious results later. The Spanish-Burgundian territories were the heritage of Philip's six-year-old son Charles. In Spain, the heir's guardian was his maternal grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon; in the Netherlands, his paternal grandfather, Maximilian.

The second regency of Maximilian (1506–1515) was less troubled than the first, as the acting regent appointed by him, Philip's only sister, Margaret, dowager duchess of Savoy, maintained the sovereign authority with vigour and judgment. Still the second regency, too, had foreign difficulties to cope with. France and her great outposts in the Netherlands, Guelders and La Mark, disturbed the peace of the provinces continually. Many a time did the duke of Guelders penetrate far into Holland and Brabant on marauding expeditions, while La Mark harried the southern provinces of the Netherlands. The French prince was continually on the watch to recover his lost territory in Artois and in the Franche Comté.

On the other hand, Maximilian was able to count on the support of the English king, who was succeeded by his son, Henry VIII., in 1509. The good understanding continued in force. In the first year of his reign, Henry VIII. married Catherine of Aragon and thus entered the Spanish-Hapsburg family. Thenceforth England was in opposition to France, and Henry cherished a hope of making good the English losses on French territory. Wolsey, the great English statesman, was very desirous of maintaining the Spanish-Burgundian alliance and did his best to propitiate the regent of the Netherlands. Little came of a combined action in north France. The

great campaign of 1513 produced little more result than the conquest of Therouanne and Tournay by the English after a brilliant victory near Guinegate. Henry VIII. took possession of Tournay, and this, in connection with the old pretensions of the English kings in these regions, awakened the suspicions of the Netherland government, who had considered the city, originally a Flemish town, as their just property.

In 1514, Henry made peace with France, and from that time on Wolsey tried to maintain the balance in the war between France and the Spanish-Burgundian monarchy by sometimes favouring one and sometimes the other party. We cannot examine the details of the diplomatic negotiations and the story of these campaigns, or, rather, marauding border expeditions. Margaret was constantly hampered by lack of means, but by clever policy she succeeded in keeping the provinces intact for her young nephew. The territories given her as dowry, Artois and the Franche Comté, were kept neutral.

The fate of the Netherland provinces during these years is closely allied with a general European policy in which the mastery of Italy played a great part. There was war on the Netherland borders and plundering in the provinces, but, in general, the decision was sought not upon their territory but in Italy. Milan and Naples were the chief points of contention. The Burgundian heritage remained in the possession of the Austrian-Burgundian family under the intelligent direction of the regent and her well chosen council at Brussels.

CHARLES V.

Thus, in 1515, Charles entered on an undisputed possession of the sovereignty of the Netherlands. At the beginning he was good friends with Francis I. of France, who ascended the throne in the same year and who was

later his bitter rival. In these two sovereigns was renewed the duel between Charles the Bold and Louis XI. There was the same personal antipathy allied to the same dynastic opposition. The individual characters of the descendants were, however, quite different from those of their ancestors and the interests, too, were no longer the same. The cultivated, prodigal, chivalrous King Francis cannot be compared to the stealthy, miserly, burgher-like Louis XI., nor had the prudent, diplomatic Charles V. any real likeness to the fiery and arrogant Burgundian warrior. The duel between Francis I. and Charles V. was fought about other matters than his formation of a new kingdom of Burgundy. It was a struggle about the imperial crown, about Italy, about the sovereignty of the world.

The attitude of France toward the Burgundian hereditary lands underwent little alteration in the long years of this struggle. Border warfare was waged, but the decision was made elsewhere, in the beginning at least. Guelders remained the outpost of France in the far north and waged a desperate strife against Burgundian power, which went further and further until Guelders was forced to yield. The house of La Mark, the ancient ally of France, lost ground, although there was still many a marauding expedition from the little but well situated territory into Namur, Luxemburg, and even into Brabant. The political relations with England underwent little change. Henry followed in the main the old policy and tried repeatedly to make alliance with Charles against Francis and to win ground in the north of France, but his expectations were for the most part disappointed. For years the personal relations between the two princes were strained after Henry had divorced his Spanish wife (1529), and after Wolsey had vanished from the scene.

The relation of Burgundy toward France was changed as a result of the wars between Francis and Charles.

The change was in part the result of conquest, in part the outcome of treaties. Tournay was taken by Charles and united to Flanders. Therouanne was captured in a campaign in 1553. At Cambrai a garrison was established in 1543, which bound the city to Charles's authority, although nominally it remained free as the bishopric itself. He also succeeded in establishing three fortresses in the territory of Liege,—at Mariemburg, then at Charlemont and at Philippeville. Thus his French border was strengthened and his territory increased at the cost of his rival.

More important still were the stipulations in the treaties of Madrid (1526) and of Cambrai (1529), for Charles V. made use of his first great victory over Francis I. to compel him to renounce his feudal pretensions in Flanders and Artois. In the peace of Crespy (1544), which terminated the war between Charles and Francis, this stipulation was accepted by the latter, and the Franche Comté, too, was freed from French authority. The duchy of Burgundy alone, although ceded to Charles by the treaty of Madrid, was never actually renounced and remained French. Thus the mighty emperor obtained one of the chief points fought for in the struggles of his Burgundian ancestors against France, freedom from French sovereignty. Thenceforward Flanders and Artois were independent possessions of the Burgundian-Austrian family. Other Burgundian dreams were realised by Charles V. Friesland, torn by party quarrels in opposition to the sovereignty established there by Albert of Saxony, finally (1524) sought safety in the arms of the great emperor. The bishop of Utrecht, unable to defend his independence against Guelders, relinquished his temporal rule to the Burgundian princes (1528). In 1543, Guelders, too, submitted to him. Even the remote Jever, frightened by the pretensions of the counts of east Friesland, recognised the " duke of Brabant " as feudal

chief (1532). Liege maintained its nominal independence, but the bishopric was of slight importance, surrounded as it was by Burgundian territory on all sides.

At the very summit of his fortune, making use of the favourable opportunity offered by his defeat of the Protestant prince in 1547, Charles determined to take a further step in the direction indicated by his forefathers. His sovereignty in the Netherlands was now independent of France, and he wished to attain the same independence of Germany. As German emperor he no longer cared to carry out Charles the Bold's scheme of a middle kingdom, but he did wish to make a particular position for his Burgundian territories in the empire and he determined to attain this by a redivision of the empire as his grandfather Maximilian had planned. Maximilian had proposed a partition of territory under imperial jurisdiction into a number of circles for the maintenance of peace. Nor was this then a novel plan. In 1438, King Albert III. had sketched such a scheme in which Brabant, Guelders, Holland, and Utrecht together were to make one circle. Maximilian's plans were more comprehensive. His suggestion embraced the territory from Luxemburg to Friesland. From that date on the Burgundian territories were mentioned in every scheme for re-formation of the empire. In 1495, the project was discussed at a diet at Worms, and Burgundy was reckoned, not within one of the projected circles, but outside, being classed with the territories of the electors of Austria and of Bohemia. The non-Burgundian lands, Friesland, Guelders, etc., were reckoned in the Westphalian circle.

The relation of Burgundian territories to the empire is obscure in many points, especially as to its share in the "common penny." There were, in the first place, the Walloon provinces, which repudiated any contribution whatsoever. Those which counted themselves German were less obstinate. It cannot be denied that as a result

of their historic development the tie between these provinces and the empire was very loose. While they might have been part of the empire in theory, yet practically they were wholly independent. In later times there was no suggestion of their bearing a share of imperial expenses; the representatives of the Netherland princes appeared at the diets in no other capacity than that of interested neighbours. In the list of 1431, the Netherland provinces are entered for a fixed number of "lances" which they were expected to furnish for the war against the heretical Hussites, but there is no proof that the troops were actually sent. In short, the real Burgundian provinces were completely outside the limits of the empire, the non-Burgundian in less degree. Alike they refused to bear imperial taxation or to submit to imperial jurisdiction.

In the organisation plan of 1512, some further steps were taken. One of the then proposed ten circles of the empire was to be the Burgundian, which should embrace all the hereditary lands, while Liege, Guelders, Friesland, and Utrecht were again included in the Westphalian circle. This plan was very comprehensive. But it was never more than a plan. The "common penny" was never paid or ever demanded; the proposed captains of the circles were never nominated nor were the new members of the imperial council. There were too many obstacles in the way; such as the confused state of Germany, the incapacity of Maximilian, etc. Later, the Netherland provinces claimed that they had never been officially informed of the division, and that Maximilian far overstepped his authority in planning for it.

In 1521, Charles V. revived the scheme in the famous diet at Worms, and arrangements were actually made for the formation of an imperial system. Burgundy was to be represented both in the imperial government and in the imperial court, and was also to bear her share in the

expenses of both. Further, when the number of troops was stipulated which were to be furnished by the different estates according to the old custom as escort to the emperor in his journey to Rome, the Burgundian territories were put down for six hundred foot and one hundred and twenty horse. This was certainly no heavy burden. There was no talk of a "common penny," and it is worthy of remark that here again the Burgundian lands were placed outside the division into circles.

This arrangement was put into operation. The imperial government and imperial court met first in November, 1521. As the annual expenses of these bodies were difficult to regulate they hit upon the idea of an imperial border tax. In the projected toll line the Netherlands were included. But the important events of the following years, above all the Reformation and the accompanying fermentation in the empire, again broke the power of the incipient imperial government. The imperial court however remained in existence as well as the imperial quota of troops.

Through these two institutions the Burgundian territories remained in touch with the empire, but it still was a very loose relation, a bond that signified very little. In point of fact, the Burgundian territories remained what they had always been, a realm independent of the emperor, and they obstinately maintained their independence. Both the regent Margaret and her successor (1530), Mary of Hungary, the emperor's sister, often refused the emperor's request to send representatives to the diets. The various states and the members of the central government at Brussels all declined to recognise the pretensions of the empire. They urged the historical independence of the provinces as parts of the ancient kingdom of Lorraine quite free from the German empire. They admonished the emperor to maintain the privileges granted by his ancestors to the provinces. When

Utrecht, Friesland, and Guelders were added to the Burgundian territories these provinces, too, attempted to follow the example of the others and to free themselves from their imperial obligations. At the diets of 1541 and 1542 there was frequent mention of imperial claims upon the Netherland provinces, without those claims being made valid, except in a few points in regard to Guelders and Utrecht. And the emperor himself, like Philip the Fair and Maximilian, was not inclined to recognise the demands of the diet in his own territory where he preferred to be the sole master.

After the League of Schmalcald was defeated in 1547, the emperor took seriously in hand the definite regulation of the relation of his Netherland heritage to the empire. There was some talk of the establishment of a universal peace in which Charles was to take part in the name of all the Netherland territories except Liege. The plan failed as many similar ones before it. Then, in 1547, at the diet at Augsburg the emperor proposed certain points relating to the provinces and the empire. It was really a resumption of the suggestion made by the regent, Mary of Hungary, as early as 1542, to put an end to the continual quarrels between the imperial princes and the Netherland provinces. Viglius, the famous Netherland savant, was empowered to state the case in behalf of the Netherlands. He even appeared at the diet of Worms, in 1545, to urge the independence of the provinces. To this able pleader were intrusted the interests of the Netherland provinces in relation to the empire. On another occasion when these points were to be discussed, Mary of Hungary went to Augsburg in person accompanied by several of her most eminent counsellors and those of the emperor. Among these were Viglius, Chancellor Granvelle and his son, later famous in Netherland history as the bishop of Arras and as Cardinal Granvelle. After the matter was fully presented on both

sides, Viglius declared in the regent's name, that the Netherlands were well inclined to an agreement calculated to prevent difficulties for the future. The basis of the accord was that the Netherlands united in a circle, without prejudice to their rights and privileges, should bear their share of the imperial burdens and should also enjoy imperial protection on the same footing as the other German states and territories. On this basis the emperor consented to include in the new circle the duchies of Lorraine, Brabant, Luxemburg, and Guelders, the countships of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, Hainaut, Holland, Zealand, Namur, Zutphen, and Charolais, the marquisate of Antwerp, the manors of Friesland, Utrecht, Overyssel, Groningen, Valkenburg, Daelhem, Salins, Mechlin, and Maestricht. This comprised all Charles's Netherland territories and others besides. These territories were to contribute to imperial taxes as much both in money and in troops as two electors; in the extraordinary taxes they were to pay a fixed quota, the so-called *Römerzug;* they were to be free from imperial judicature and maintain their own courts. In consideration of this the empire was to protect the provinces in the same manner as other portions of the realm.

There was still much discussion over the legal matters and finally, on June 26, 1548, a convention was made at Augsburg. This acknowledged the unity of the Netherland provinces as a circle in the German empire and assured its permanent connection with the empire. Both sides reaped advantage. The empire was increased by the addition of Artois and Flanders, formerly united to the French crown, and by the reunion of a mass of provinces which had been gradually alienated from the empire since the rise of the Burgundian sovereignty.

The Netherlands gained by the protection against France, while they remained in undisputed possession of their privileges in respect to administration, lawgiving,

and jurisdiction. In return they had promised to contribute a share of imperial taxation, which was not slight, but still the amount was limited and fixed. That the treaty of Augsburg did not prevent the separation of the provinces from the empire in the second half of the century should be charged rather to the later German emperors than to Charles V. who still bore in mind the needs of the empire in this treaty.

The treaty of Augsburg was no dead letter. Charles V. and Philip II. insisted that the provinces should be exempt from imperial jurisdiction in all cases except those pertaining to imperial taxes. On the other hand these imperial taxes were paid regularly for the first few years. The representatives of the Burgundian circle also appeared at the diets. The convention was approved in the Netherlands without much opposition and ratified by the various provinces in accordance with the expressed desire of the emperor. There were a few obstacles in the way, but, still, consent was given without cavil. The first difficulties arose, not from the side of the Netherland provinces or of their ruler, but from the German empire itself. The German diet objected to defending the provinces from France. It was at last stipulated that imperial protection could only be afforded to the lands which came under imperial legal jurisdiction, a stipulation which practically relieved the empire from the duty of protecting the border provinces.

The treaty of Augsburg was followed by a second convention aimed to strengthen the bond between the provinces. After the conclusion of the diet, Charles V. betook himself to the Netherlands and, in October, 1548, summoned the States-General at Brussels to obtain their approval of the treaty and to ask a large grant, which was made grudingly. In accordance with the emperor's desire, his only son Philip also made a progress through the Netherlands in 1549, to come into

touch with his future subjects. In this same year Charles V. made a very extensive plan to regulate once for all the succession in his Netherland possessions so as to remove all uncertainty. From the earlier history of the provinces, it is perfectly plain that the stipulations regarding the succession in the various Netherland provinces were very vague and uncertain. It was quite possible that the lands brought together with so much difficulty would again fall apart after the death of Charles. To obviate this, the emperor, in deliberation with the two most distinguished legal colleges of the land, the great council of Mechlin and the court of Brabant, issued a pragmatic sanction, whereby the succession in all the provinces should be one and the same without distinction, and the sovereign power should be inherited in the male and female line of the emperor's family with annihilation of all special privileges that might be contrary to this. It seems that this "pragmatic sanction" was approved by the Estates of the various provinces, a proof that the theory of mutual coherence was acknowledged in the provinces. What had been urged upon the Netherland states in the days of the first Burgundian rulers now seemed a truth accepted by the majority. In the long-continued war with France the value of union among the Netherland provinces had been learned.

The emperor asked and obtained homage for his son as the future sovereign. In the South, Philip was accompanied by his father, but when Charles was prevented by the inclement season and his gout from going farther, Philip continued his journey alone through the North, where he received homage in the chief cities. He did not go to Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe. In these places the stadtholder, Count Aremberg, received homage in behalf of the future sovereign.

Thus the Netherlands seemed assured in their unity.

Under imperial protection the Burgundian circle, united under one ruler as a part of the empire, would be in a position to resist foreign foes. The aim of the old Burgundian duke seemed, in the main, attained.

When Charles formally abdicated in October, 1555, Philip received the sovereignty from his imperial father. With deep regret the Netherland subjects saw the prematurely aged emperor resign his sceptre. Charles V. was popular in the Netherlands. It was his native land and there he had spent his youth and had been educated in the Netherland fashion under the care of his aunt and of Netherland nobles and clergy. Adrian of Utrecht, afterwards pope, and William of Croy, lord of Chièvres, were his most distinguished teachers.

Fragile until his twentieth year, he was long kept out of public affairs to enable his strength to develop, so that Chièvres was even accused of manœuvring to retain his own position of trust longer. In Spain, especially, there was much complaint about the undue influence of the Netherland counsellors at the time of Charles's first visit thither, 1517–1520, and Chièvres was not wholly liked throughout the Netherlands. But the young prince remained faithful to this capable statesman even after he had obtained the imperial dynasty. Until his death in 1521, Chièvres was the most important person in Charles's suite. After his death Charles, for the first time, showed himself equal to his position. Earnest and calm in character, closely devoted to the Catholic Church and to the title of "Catholic" king which he had obtained from the pope for himself and his successors, exceedingly prudent, a distinguished general and statesman, strong enough to endure the greatest fatigues, Charles V. fulfilled his gigantic task in a remarkable manner.

His extraordinary kingdom, on which the sun never set, demanded a great personality in the ruler and Charles did not fall short of the demands. This is saying much when

the difficult era, the period of the Reformation, is considered. In the midst of the numberless perplexities of his life, he seldom found opportunity to visit his Netherland provinces for more than a few weeks at a time. But whenever he did show himself he was met by demonstrations of affection. The people felt their kinship with the prince born in their midst, in this imperial sovereign in whose supremacy they felt themselves honoured. And Charles knew the people. He knew exactly what he could obtain and what not. He knew the virtues and the failings of these subjects and knew how to make use of his knowledge to rule them according to their will. Thus he was able skilfully to unite the devotion to popular rights, jealously guarded by the Netherland states, to a steadily increasing power of central government. He was able to obtain the heaviest subsidies by alternately demanding proudly and suing humbly. At the same time he did not hesitate to publish stern edicts against the national taste in the point of religious observances.

It is true that much of his popularity among contemporaries and posterity should be ascribed to the judicious government of his two regents, especially of his noble sister, Mary of Hungary, the worthy successor to her aunt Margaret. It is also true that the comparison of his reign to that of his unpopular son has placed his administration in a more favourable light to posterity. But on the other hand his own personality aided the acquisition of a popularity which clung to him to the very end. The tears shed in the great hall of the Brussels palace on October 25, 1555, when the emperor solemnly transferred his Netherland provinces to his son in the presence of the States-General, were an eloquent answer to the grand summary given by the emperor of his reign. The tears and the sobs which were heard as the exhausted sovereign sank back into his chair were not the expression

of courtly flattery; they were the tokens of a universal sorrow at the departure of a beloved master. The emperor's voice awakened a sympathetic response in the ears of the listeners as he recounted the vicissitudes of his weary life from the time when he, still a child, had assumed the administration. Most touching was his affectionate farewell to his servants, his solemn words to his son and successor, and to the deputies of the Netherland subjects. The moment was melancholy indeed when the broken man left the hall with his sister, in the midst of silence, walking slowly, leaning on the shoulder of William, Prince of Orange, and followed by his appointed successor.

On September 13th, Charles departed from the Netherlands forever to seek peace in the Spanish cloister of Yuste, and thither the warm sympathy of princes and people followed the ruler, whose heir found so little love in the hearts of the Netherlanders.

PHILIP II

In many respects the new ruler was the exact opposite of his father. The latter was an adept in the art of making himself popular, while Philip was forbidding in his carriage toward his subjects. His Spanish tutors gave him the ideal of *grandezza*, of stateliness, of dignified reserve, and haughty arrogance, something to which the Netherlanders were quite unaccustomed in their relations with their overlord. In his first visit to his future possessions in the north, the young prince had made a very unfavourable impression. There were many complaints about his haughtiness and his overweening arrogance toward the native nobles. Charles had been inclined to be very politic in his attitude towards theological affairs, especially in the Netherlands when Queen Mary administered the government—the princess whose views were

undoubtedly affected by Erasmus. Philip, on the other hand, was above all a devout Catholic, who could not endure the slightest deviation from the faith. In this point, too, he was far more alien to the ruling spirit of the Netherlands than his prudent father. Moderate Erasmian ideas had taken root among the upper classes, while the lower classes, especially in the maritime provinces and in the territories bordering on France, were deeply imbued with reform ideas. Philip took no account of either of these facts, and was firmly resolved to maintain the full supremacy of the Catholic faith in his Netherland domains and to uproot all traces of heresy.

But there was another point at which Philip was at odds with his new subjects. His father, himself a native Netherlander, had fully understood that, in strengthening the central monarchical power which was his aim as it had been that of his predecessors, he must be careful above all not to wound the Netherlanders in respect to their dearly bought charters. He had warned his son to be very cautious in this regard, fully appreciating that there was no tenderer point in the government than this. But Philip had no comprehension of the importance of his warning. He intended to govern the Netherlands in as arbitrary a manner as his father had Spain after the great Spanish revolt of 1520, and as he himself then ruled at home. His ideas were those of an absolute monarch whose wish alone was to be regarded, who ignored any rights of his subjects. *Yo, el Rey*,—I, the king,—was his ordinary expression in state documents. In this regard Philip was a Spaniard through and through, a son of the nation for whom the population of the Netherland provinces, allied by dynastic ties, cherished an unmistakable antipathy, a feeling that had been returned by the Spaniards from the time when Philip the Fair had favoured his Netherland courtiers in Spain to the cost of the natives, and renewed when Charles V. had repeated

history during his first visit there. There was not the slightest question of any such preference with Philip II. whose chief favourite was Ruy Gomez.

Charles V. would have rejoiced to bequeathe his only son the German crown, that is, to have had him at least elected king of the Romans, while Charles's nephew Ferdinand was made emperor. This would have assured Philip the future succession of the dignity enjoyed by his father. It was, however, soon apparent that the plan could not be carried out, as Ferdinand had sons and intended the eldest, Maximilian, to succeed to the German throne. The result of this succession of the imperial crown in one branch of the family was to unite the Netherlands with Spain, a fact which seriously affected the relations of the provinces to the empire. They were thus chained to a policy which considered not the needs of the empire, in which they were really comprised, but the interests of the Spanish monarchy. Spain was the most important of the territories over which Philip reigned. The interests of Spain and of the Catholic Church—these were the two foundations upon which rested the new sovereign policy. Philip II. regarded the Netherlands simply as the outposts of his power in Middle Europe, important on account of their wealth and position, while the middle, the centre of gravity of his sovereignty, was to be found in Spain and Italy. Shortly before the abdication of Charles V., the marriage of the Spanish heir of the provinces to Queen Mary of England promised to give a new tendency to his policy and to establish a dynastic bond between Spain and England. But it was soon evident that the marriage boded little for the future. Mary was childless and an invalid, so that it was evident that any coöperation between Spain and England would be of short duration. Spain was the centre of his realm and his policy. The interests of the Netherlands were subordinated and re-

mained so. This was not evident in the early years of his reign. Philip stayed in the Netherlands, busied with the war against France which had been part of his father's legacy to him. The war had been begun in 1552, as a result of the contest against Protestantism in the empire in which Henry II. had been involved by a treaty, and was continued from the Netherlands as a border war like that waged in the days of Francis I. Hesdin was captured and the whole Somme region menaced. Champagne suffered seriously from the depredations of the troops of William, Prince of Orange, who, in spite of his youth, had succeeded the famous Martin van Rossem in 1555. He commanded the whole army around Givet. The erection of the fortresses of Charlemont and Philippeville for the protection of the Netherland boundary from Mariemburg, which had been taken possession of by the French, was the most important action taken. Shortly after the abdication, the truce of Vaucelles caused a brief cessation of hostilities, which were continued later under Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy.

The campaign opened brilliantly. At St. Quentin a decisive victory was won for Philip on August 10th. Paris itself might have been taken, but Philip did not make use of his opportunity, though there was great anxiety in the French capital. He himself took the command, but Philip had not the military genius of his father, who would have marched at once on the French capital. The victory bore no fruits. Lack of funds necessitated the speedy disbanding of the chief part of the troops. Francis of Guise, the most skilful military leader in France, hastened from Italy at the news of the danger to Paris, and his arrival changed the aspect of affairs, so that the advantage was again on the side of the French. Guise seized Calais from the English, who thus lost the last remnant of their hold in France, and then pressed on to Flanders. At the same time, the French

attacked Luxemburg. On June 13, 1558, Lamoral, count of Egmont, won a great victory at Gravelines. With the aid of an English squadron, he practically annihilated one wing of the French army, and redeemed the honour of Netherland-Spanish arms. Both parties were weary of war, and negotiations were soon opened at Château-Cambresis, which resulted in the peace of April 3, 1559. France retained Calais, but relinquished all conquests in the Netherlands, as Philip did his on French soil. Mutual confidence was, however, not restored by this peace. France did not renounce her claims on Artois and Flanders, and cherished a hope of eventually gaining her influence in the provinces. To be sure, the weakness of the house of Valois put a vigorous policy out of the question; France, too, was harassed by domestic troubles, by the Huguenots and Catholics. The first signs of the frightful civil wars were already ominous, but, still, Philip did not feel wholly secure, fully conscious of the fact that the ancient foe was on the watch for opportunities to play a part in Netherland affairs, and that both religious parties were united in a desire of revenge for the defeats of St. Quentin and Gravelines. Philip resolved, therefore, to retain Spanish troops on the borders so as to be ready for any chance.

The relations with England had improved after the death of Queen Mary in 1558. The new queen, the Protestant Elizabeth, had declined Philip's matrimonial proposals. She and her people could not swallow the loss of Calais—it was evident that the king had wholly ignored English interests in making the peace. It was clear, too, that henceforth there could be little coöperation between Protestant England and Catholic Spain in spite of their common enmity for France. In any case, Elizabeth could hardly remain indifferent to Philip's intent to rule the Netherlands wholly in the spirit of Spanish policy. She would have been equally dissatisfied to see a vigorous

monarchy formed in the Netherlands which might be in a position to close the commerce with England and thus affect English conditions. She therefore watched events in the provinces very closely.

Apparently, in the early years of Philip's reign the relations of the Netherlands to the empire were little changed. Until Ferdinand actually made his son Maximilian king of the Romans, Philip continued to cherish his pretensions to the German crown. He even went so far, in accordance with the treaty of Augsburg, as to take the Netherland provinces in fief from the emperor (May 13, 1560). Ferdinand, however, lost no time in working for his son, and when he was elected king of the Romans in October, 1562, the tie of the Netherlands with the empire became looser without any striking change taking place, certainly decidedly looser than in the days when Charles V., emperor and ruler over the Netherlands at the same time, was there to uphold the agreement (treaty of Augsburg, 1555) that he himself had made to regulate the relations of the lowlands to the empire.

By this time Philip had left the Netherlands.

After the conclusion of peace with France, he prepared to set off speedily for his beloved Spain, having placed Margaret of Parma, a natural daughter of his father, at the head of affairs.[1] In August, 1559, he took leave of his subjects in a gathering of the States-General at Ghent and sailed from Flushing on the 26th of the same month, never again to return.

Henceforth the provinces were to be ruled from Spain, forming part of a monarchy which had her own interests and which was to exert all her force to maintain the religion of the king. Philip left a well-regulated government behind him, with able statesmen, at whose head was the bishop of Arras, the cleverest public man of his time. But the Spanish prince was not the man to yield,

[1] See P. J. Blok, *Archivalia*, p. 45, 1888.

or to allow the Netherlands to be governed in any other way than the one he chose. In all matters of importance he was to be consulted from Spain. Neither the regent nor the bishop was at first inclined to withdraw from this dependence, but both were willing to regard the Netherlands as a part of the Spanish monarchy, not as a country by itself as it had in fact become under the strong hand of Mary of Hungary.

The change that had been wrought by the abdication of Charles V. and the departure of the regent, Mary, was not that of a change in the persons of the sovereign and of his representative. It was a wholly different system of government. This became evident shortly after the departure of Philip to Spain.

Mary of Hungary and her predecessor, Margaret of Savoy, had followed in the footsteps of their Burgundian ancestors. They had always primarily considered the needs of the provinces in their administration. As an independent part of Charles's monarchy, the Netherlands had been able to weigh their interests in the scale of European policy. With Margaret of Parma and Granvelle this policy ceased. Henceforth, the Netherlands were to be no more than one of the two dependencies of the Spanish monarchy. Like Naples and Milan in Italy, the Netherlands in the north were the external props of the policy that had its kernel in Spain, its centre at Madrid in the palace of the new spider who stretched his web over a far larger realm than the French *aragne universelle* had been able to do in the fifteenth century.

Thus the ideal of the ancient Burgundian princes, the unity of the Netherlands, was attained to a certain point, but the growing state was virtually subordinated to a foreign power, and although the foreign power was wielded by a prince of the old Burgundian stock, that prince was a stranger to his Netherland

subjects and, moreover, a stranger belonging to a hated nation.

There was no independent Netherland state. There was a collection of Netherland states and statelets dependent on Spain. Were they so to remain ? The answer was given by the eighty years' war.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONQUEST OF GUELDERS, UTRECHT, AND FRIESLAND

GUELDERS

IN the last year of the reign of Philip the Good, the Netherland provinces and Liege were nominally still independent of Burgundy. Utrecht, as well as Liege, was, however, virtually in Burgundian hands, and Guelders was already engaged in a desperate struggle to avoid the dreaded Burgundian embrace, though ducal supremacy was not recognised there. Even Friesland was not wholly free, though she did not show the slightest inclination to submit to Burgundy.

Guelders's trial came first. The feud between Duke Arnold and his son, which had been egged on by the Burgundian duke, was finally ended through the mediation of Lord William Egmont, Arnold's brother, and several foreign lords, among whom were those of Horn and Heinsburg. In this treaty of Batenburg, the city and territory of Nimwegen, besides Duffel, were yielded to Adolph. His mother received the castles of Lobith and Rosendaal with sufficient income for their maintenance. The relations between Adolph and his father, however, continued strained. Adolph finally succeeded in winning over the allegiance of the cities of Guelders to himself. Secretly aided by Philip of Burgundy, he married Catherine of Bourbon, the sister-in-law of Count Charles of Charolais,

was made knight of the Golden Fleece, and rejoiced in the favour of the Burgundian court at Brussels, where he and his mother made long sojourns. Thus several years passed in disorder and insecurity, and the three chief cities, Nimwegen, Arnhem, and Zutphen made use of the opportunity to increase their privileges and to make a closer defensive alliance as a protection against the marauding troops and nobles of both parties. In 1464, Adolph returned to Guelders, was reconciled to his father, and spent the summer and autumn with him at his castle of Grave, where they made good cheer in spite of the financial difficulties in which the elder duke was involved. At Christmas the duchess, too, joined her husband and son. New festivals and carouses succeeded each other in the ducal castle to celebrate this family reunion.

But affairs soon took another turn. In the midnight darkness between the 9th and 10th of January, 1465, armed knights and citizens of Adolph's party suddenly appeared at Grave from Nimwegen, seized the castle by means of Adolph's treachery, dragged the old duke from his bed without even giving him time to clothe himself, and carried him to the castle of Lobith that still belonged to his wife. On the following night the conspirators removed him to Buren where he could be better guarded under the care of a personal enemy, Lord Otto of Bijlant. Certain of the duke's chief friends were imprisoned with him.

This event aroused great indignation. The duke of Cleves, Lord William of Egmont, and others, protested vehemently at the treacherous deed. But the majority of the people in the lower district of Utrecht applauded the deed, which they counted as justified by Arnold's misrule. Adolph, aided openly by the count of Meurs and secretly by the duke of Burgundy, had himself acknowledged as sovereign in the capitals which had

always been well affected towards him. Roermond and the whole upper quarter, except Venloo, refused homage at first, but when the imprisoned duke resigned all authority in favour of his son, here, too, opposition ceased. The prisoner of Buren was not freed, and William of Egmont and his friends found themselves replaced by Adolph's favourites. New complications and feuds arose in which the duke of Cleves on the side of the Egmonts, the count of Meurs on that of Adolph, were involved. There was lawlessness on both sides. Cities were taken and lost again, civil war raged throughout the land. It was a fortunate circumstance that the truce with Jülich was renewed from time to time during these years. Finally, in the spring of 1467, the two parties agreed to submit to the arbitration of the count of Charolais, whose father had often acted in a similar capacity. All attempts at reconciliation failed, however, and the feud flamed out anew in the unhappy duchy. The party of Cleves and the Egmonts suffered a defeat at Stralen in 1468, but even that was not sufficient to end the war. Burgundy alone was powerful enough to effect peace.

Charles the Bold had now succeeded his father. The count of Meurs gave many warnings against Burgundian assistance, but finally the condition in Guelders became untenable. Duke Charles tried to force Adolph to free his father, and even the pope added his entreaties. In 1470, in the capacity of Arnold's feudal chief for his estates in Brabant and of the lords of Egmont, Charles summoned Adolph to appear before him either in person or by deputy. Just then the duke happened to be at Hesdin on the French border, and thither Adolph went. Long negotiations resulted in the liberation of the old prisoner in the spring of 1471. The presence of both father and son at the Burgundian court before Amiens seemed to offer a fitting opportunity to reconcile them. Charles proposed that Arnold should retain the title of duke and the terri-

tory of Grave, while Adolph remained ruler *de facto*. The latter, however, declared that he would rather throw his father head downwards into a well and jump in after him than to throw himself into such an accommodation. His father had been duke for forty-four years, and now it was his turn. He was willing to give him three thousand guilders' income if he would stay away from the duchy. Such was the story of Comines, an eye witness of the meeting between father and son.

Adolph seized an opportunity when the duke of Burgundy was in France to return to his duchy. He was captured at Namur and cast into prison by Charles (February, 1471), first at Lille and later at Courtrai. There was great excitement in Guelders over this event. The chief cities begged Charles to liberate Adolph, and justified his actions point by point in a long document. Charles replied with a defence of the elder duke and bitter complaints of the younger, whom he accused of collusion with France. Arnold appeared in the field with Burgundian troops and conquered Grave. He revoked his renunciation to his son, and urged the cities to recognise him again. Neither cities nor nobles were ready to take this step. Hostilities continued until Arnold was forced to a fatal decision. He mortgaged the duchy to Charles, whom he had previously acknowledged as guardian and protector (December, 1471), for three hundred thousand golden guilders, reserving a life interest in the usufruct of the land. The people protested vigorously against this transaction, and in September, 1472, elected the count of Meurs, Adolph's old ally, as their captain, to carry on the government in his behalf or in that of his five-year-old son, Charles. A council of deputies of the bannerets,[1] nobles, and chief cities were to assist the regent.

The Burgundian troops set out to put an end to the

[1] The bannerets were petty nobles, able to furnish a certain quota of troops.

revolt in Guelders, but their nominal purpose was rendered null by the death of the weak old duke at Grave in February, 1473. Guelders was left without a prince, for Charles persisted in his refusal to free Adolph. He had gone too far to be willing to lose footing in the duchy. He bought off the claims of Jülich and won the aid of the duke of Cleves by fair promises. In a brief space of time the cities of the upper quarter were reduced, Nimwegen submitting after a three weeks' siege. Charles carried off Adolph's two children to Ghent to be brought up at the court of his daughter Mary, and in August, 1473, he received homage as duke of Guelders. Thus the duchy became part of Burgundy and the emperor enfeoffed Charles with his newly acquired realm.

The sovereignty was inaugurated with the bestowal of Duffel, Goch, and Lobith as hereditary fiefs upon Cleves in recompense for the aid given. In addition, Cleves received Wachtendonk, jurisdiction over Elten, and other estates in fee. Duke Arnold's brother, William of Egmont, became stadtholder in behalf of the Burgundian, while others of Arnold's adherents were richly rewarded for their services.

The Guelders people soon felt the hand of their new master. The ancient privileges of the cities were set aside and a new quota of municipal officials from Arnold's party were arbitrarily put into the places of the old one. Freedom from taxation was abolished in the majority of the cities, and the mortgages were all revoked to the advantage of the sovereign. There was no question of assembly of cities and nobles at their own instance; they could meet together only in response to the summons of the holder at the duke's command. Thus the development of popular liberty was suddenly and effectively checked.

It is unquestionable that the reëstablishment of a vigorous government in Guelders was of great import-

ance. There was henceforth as little insecurity in that duchy as elsewhere in the strictly ordered Burgundian territories. The new treasury and parliament of Mechlin was made to serve also for Guelders, and furthered the just administration of finances and of fair trials. One of the first deeds of Duke Charles was the establishment of a council of justice for the duchy which helped to give unity in legal matters. Two important ordinances were issued in the spring of 1474, which militated to good government. Frightful abuses had obtained, such as bribery on the part of criminals to escape the penalty of their misdeeds, and blackmail on the part of the judges to extort large sums from the prisoners. These were rendered almost impossible while the finances were carefully regulated and the supervision over the treasury made stricter. Fixed rules, too, were made for the mint. Thus the people of Guelders had their share of the advantages which were reaped by the Netherland provinces under Burgundian rule—better justice and better regulation of the finances.

The death of Charles at Nancy, three and a half years later, put an end to Burgundian sovereignty in Guelders. One of the first results of this death was the liberation of Duke Adolph from his imprisonment at Courtrai. The Flemings immediately adopted him as their leader and went so far as to offer him the hand of Charles's daughter. Immediately on the receipt of the news of the disaster at Nancy, the chief cities of Guelders revolted against the Burgundian officials and sent deputies to Adolph in Flanders. In spite of the opposition of the stadtholders, the chief cities summoned, as of old, the bannerets, the nobles, and the small cities to a diet at Nimwegen. And there, in April, the assembled estates recognised Adolph as lawful sovereign. His sister Catherine assumed the government in his behalf.

But the new order was short-lived. In June, Adolph

died on the field before Tournay, uttering the war-cry "Guelders! Guelders!" with his last breath. He ended his restless life as a valiant warrior, fighting for the rights of the daughter of the deadly foe who had robbed him of his inheritance.

On whom could Guelders count for the defence of the rights of the young heir, Charles, who was still at Ghent under the protection of Mary of Burgundy? There was a strong hand needed against the man who speedily came to defend the rights of Duchess Mary, against Maximilian of Austria, who absolutely refused to recognise the claims of the ancient ducal house or to allow little Charles to appear in Guelders.

Great was the embarrassment in the duchy. Aid to resist Maximilian and the Burgundian party was begged from Bishop Louis of Liege, from the duke of Cleves, from Bishop Henry of Münster, and from Frederick of Brunswick. These princes were, one after the other, intrusted with the regency of Guelders, which was also desired by the Burgundian Egmonts. Help from Francis was called for and that of Jülich was sought. At length Maximilian's troops, aided by Cleves and the Egmonts, succeeded in reducing the duchy to the authority of Maximilian and Mary in 1481. Count Adolph of Nassau was made stadtholder, first for Mary, and later for Maximilian as regent for his young son Philip. The confused condition of the Netherlands under Maximilian's regency was also felt in Guelders. The Burgundian sovereignty was not firm. There were repeated attempts made from Cleves and Utrecht to wrest the land from Maximilian, but in vain. The count of Nassau succeeded in keeping it for Philip of Burgundy.

Meanwhile, Charles of Guelders remained at the court of Burgundy, but in his first campaigns he fell into the hands of the French at the battle of Béthune (July, 1487). The count of Meurs, Adolph's old friend and ally, im-

mediately opened negotiations with France about the liberation of the sixteen-year-old prince. Duke René of Lorraine, husband of Philippa, Adolph's daughter, offered his services and opened negotiations with the Guelders people. The people were very restive under the tyrannical administration of the Burgundian officials. They declared that the Estates were wholly ignored, and the rights which they had lawfully attained under the weak government of Duke Arnold set aside. The Estates were no longer consulted about war or peace, coinage or finance. The government had become very aristocratic in form since the rising of 1481. There was no mention of the assembly of the diets of the quarters. In a case of dire necessity the stadtholder called them togther to hear his orders. The heavy taxes, the imposition of the twelfth penny on all possessions, of the sixth penny on all freeholds, of hearth-money and *pondschatting*[1] were grievous burdens. It was all to wage war against France and against the revolted Flemings, and every measure was a new bitterness to the Guelders people who were not interested in either of these causes. The revolt was suppressed by the Burgundian stadtholder, the protests against arbitrary actions were ignored and the loud complaints about the appointment of aliens to office, about infringement of privileges, continued.

The anti-Burgundian party took advantage of these circumstances. Various cities began to make conventions together. The count of Meurs exerted himself to the utmost with the French government, obtained a reduction by half in the ransom of Charles of Guelders, and, to the great annoyance of the Burgundian government in Guelders, convoked nobles and cities to raise the required sum. The meeting was held in spite of the opposition of Adolph of Nassau. The count of Meurs, in spite of his great age, travelled back and forth between France

[1] Property taxes.

and Guelders. At last he succeeded, by leaving his grandson as hostage in Charles's place, in persuading the French government to allow the young duke to return to his duchy after the payment of a portion of his ransom. With the coming of Duke Charles began a struggle in the province which lasted more than half a century, a fruitless struggle against Burgundian supremacy. It was a desperate conflict, that of Guelders against the giant might of Charles V. The conflict is interwoven with the history of nearly all the northern provinces of the Netherlands, nay, with that, too, of France and Germany and almost all Europe.

Charles of Egmont enjoyed universal sympathy when he was acknowledged as duke of Guelders and Jülich as his father and grandfather had been before him, although Jülich had been in the possession of the duke of Berg since 1423, and had no thought of submission to the Egmonts.

Charles prepared to defend his rights in Guelders at least, against Maximilian and Philip the Fair, who were not inclined to leave him in peaceful possession of his land. The Estates of Guelders seized the opportunity to meet at their own instance; especially the cities now reinstated in their ancient privileges were at first ready to stake their wealth and their blood for their young duke. In the Betuwe began a struggle against the adherents of Burgundy who flocked around Frederick of Egmont,[1] lord of Ysselstein. An attempt to obtain efficient help from France failed and it was evident that Guelders's opposition to Burgundy could not be permanently maintained, especially when Maximilian succeeded his father in 1493. Charles of Guelders naturally could not obtain either from Frederick III. or from Maximilian, formal investiture of his duchy.

[1] In 1492 he was made lord of Buren in recognition of his services to Burgundy.

When the continuous war began to be unbearable in Guelders, the duke entered on negotiations which led to the adoption of a treaty (August, 1491) in which both sides agreed to an arbitration of the electors who should decide between the rival claims of Charles of Egmont and Philip the Fair. The affair was brought up and fully discussed at the diet of Worms in 1495. Guelders and Burgundy pleaded the causes of the two princes in long briefs, and it cannot be denied that the Guelders *Deductie*, given in the form of a detailed dialogue between a Roman and a Guelders knight, is very striking in the evidence adduced and in the force of argument. But in the face of the power of the Roman king and his son all this rhetoric was of little avail, and, after counter-plea and reply, they found it impossible to come to any agreement. There was no resort to an arbitration by the electors. The question had to be decided by arms, and hostilities were soon renewed.

For years the contest continued with changing fortunes. It was waged mainly on the Holland and Utrecht borders. The dukes of Jülich and Cleves and the bishop of Utrecht tried to reap some advantage for themselves from this confusion, and allied themselves to Philip the Fair to force Guelders to submission in the hope of reaping some benefit from the spoils of the duchy. Charles, on the other hand, repeatedly begged help from France, the foe of Burgundy.

This heavy burden of war began to affect all the people seriously, especially in the cities. Not less hampering was the caprice of the young prince. Bright hopes had been based on the accession of Charles. Bitter disappointment resulted. The country was insecure, the imposts were heavy, the ducal court expensive, the council ill administered, and disorder was rampant in the land. Duke Charles understood perfectly that he was dependent on the good-will of his subjects; he tried to meet the

complaints with remedies, and managed to maintain his position until 1505, when Philip the Fair prepared to make an effort to subdue Guelders for good. With the aid of the bishop of Utrecht and the duke of Cleves, Philip gathered a large army and invaded the duchy after he had been duly invested by the emperor, his father, with Guelders and Zutphen. Within a couple of months he had conquered the whole land, and Duke Charles was forced to prostrate himself before his sovereign at the ducal palace of Rosendaal. It was again stipulated that within three years the fate of Guelders should be submitted to arbitration. Meanwhile, Philip insisted that Charles was to accompany him wherever he went, to ensure the fidelity of the latter to the treaty. On his part, Philip was to maintain the duke according to his rank and station.

Charles, ever crafty and untrustworthy, tried to shake off his obligations, but in vain. He went, more than half under compulsion, to Brussels to place himself at the disposal of the king (October, 1505). Then he suddenly fled and betook himself to his own land. Open war was waged anew, and Charles succeeded in regaining a goodly portion of Guelders from the troops of Philip, who was just then not in a position to maintain his claims by force of arms, because he was on the brink of departure for Spain. Some aid was sent from France under Robert de la Mark, and Louis XII. grasped the fact that advantage might accrue to him from the war in Guelders. French troops, two thousand men strong, appeared at Elton on the Rhine.

Philip's death and the second regency of Maximilian gave the duke an opportunity to make a bolder stroke. With a vigorous effort he succeeded in nearly freeing his duchy from Burgundian troops and then invaded Brabant, plundering and pillaging, going as far as Tienen and Louvain (September, 1507), while in Guelders, Arnhem

was the only place held by the Burgundians under Floris of Egmont, count of Buren. The Regent Margaret was greatly alarmed and assembled the States-General to consider the situation. Charles of Guelders was to learn that the war was not a private affair, but one that touched all interests. In the spring of 1508, he penetrated into defenceless Holland, where he surprised Muiden and Weesp and made several efforts to reduce Amsterdam. Besides, he tried to make himself master of the Sticht and to form alliances in Friesland. The Guelders war had thus reached another stage. It involved all the northern provinces, especially Holland, the Sticht, and Friesland.

UTRECHT

Under David of Burgundy, the Sticht enjoyed comparative quiet. The new bishop, with his father's help, succeeded in maintaining his authority against the capital city, ever inclined to revolt, and against the strong nobles of the Lower Sticht, especially the Brederodes and the Burggrave of Montfort with his Hook sympathisers.

In 1438, Anthony of Burgundy—Philip's famous bastard son—came to his brother's aid and enforced a greater respect for his sovereign power in the Sticht. The bishop thought this a favourable time to fix his power on firmer foundation.

In 1470, he took the occasion of a conspiracy of the Brederodes against Burgundian authority to imprison his old rival, Gijsbrecht of Brederode, and his kinsmen at Vianen and Amerong. The prisoners were harshly treated and, when freed, found their influence greatly weakened. Several died as a result of their sufferings, and the power of the ancient Holland family was effectually broken. The bishop's treatment of the city of Utrecht was equally harsh. He ignored all ancient privileges and assumed complete control of the municipal administration.

David then established himself at his fine castle at Wijk near Duurstede in almost regal state. His brilliant court was in accordance with Burgundian traditions of luxury, of despotic rule, and of reformation in the realms of justice and administration, while, at the same time, caprice and loose morals prevailed. An historian of the day speaks admiringly of David's love for letters and music, of his protection of savants and artists, of his improvements in law and justice. He put an end to the shameful misuse of lawsuits, whereby the verdict chiefly depended on how many friends the plaintiffs could produce in court. In lieu of the ancient customs still in use in the Frisian provinces of the Lower Sticht, which permitted the sentences to be pronounced by all the freemen present, he introduced the Frankish schepen law. In 1474, he established a court of appeal for the whole Lower Sticht. This court or council, called the *schive* court from the table about which the judges sat, consisted of ten members. David, further, did his best to improve the cloister life in his diocese, especially the cloisters of the Dominicans, which sadly needed it. "All the other convents," says Heda, "would have undergone a holy reformation had he not been hindered by Satan and his servants from completing his work." His reform measures consisted chiefly of the appointment of suitable abbots and the removal of dissolute monks. The bishop kept the Utrecht guilds in check with a strong hand and maintained his authority in the Upper Sticht. He improved the currency through the mintage of the so-called David coins. Remote Groningen paid little attention to her distant sovereign who visited this territory rarely, but even there his authority received a nominal recognition.

The details of the civil war which shortly followed in the Sticht varied little in the main from what happened in Holland and elsewhere. Sometimes the Hooks gained the upper hand, sometimes the Cods, sometimes one

castle suffered, sometimes another. There were marauding expeditions from Holland into Utrecht and from Utrecht into Gooiland where Naarden was overmastered; there were raids into the Betuwe where Buren and Kuilenberg were attacked; in the Veluwe, where John of Schaffelaar is said to have performed a famous feat of arms. During these wars, Bishop David reached the depths of humiliation. He was overpowered within the city of Utrecht, which he had mastered, and actually carried to Amersfoort on a cart (May, 1483). Shortly afterwards, Maximilian succeeded in reducing Utrecht after a siege of eleven weeks, and in forcing submission to the bishop. Years passed, however, before order was re-established in the bishopric. Not until 1492, when Albert of Saxony had pacified the Holland troubles, was there quiet in the Lower Sticht. With the restoration of order in the Burgundian provinces and the growth of Burgundian power in general, the bishop's own sovereignty was made stronger. One of David's brothers, Philip of Burgundy, the youngest of the duke's bastards, was a valiant warrior in the episcopal army.

But David had little enjoyment from the restoration of his power. Sickly and old, he fell into a condition of childishness, and before his death his most unworthy favourites found opportunity to exploit his unfortunate people to their own advantage. In 1496 he died.

Philip of Cleves was offered as the candidate of the anti-Burgundian party, but was easily defeated by Frederick of Baden, treasurer of Cologne, supported by Philip the Fair and Maximilian. With some difficulty he succeeded in redeeming the castle of Wijk at a high price. He was a true ally of the Burgundian-Austrian dynasty to which he owed his dignity, and, at last, he too was involved in the Guelders war which raged on his borders, in spite of his efforts to maintain neutrality between his quarrelsome neighbours. Still the anti-Burgundian party

remained in force within the Sticht and kept up communication with Charles of Guelders, while the bishop sought and found support from the Burgundian government.

The Estates of the Lower Sticht refused to accept a Burgundian army under the prince of Anhalt. By means of commercial treaties, Charles of Guelders bribed the citizens of Utrecht to lend him their support. Thus bishops and states were at swords' points. In the Lower Sticht, Charles's troops were repeatedly allowed to cross through the land to Holland, while the slightest violation of the boundaries by the Burgundians caused the loudest complaints. There was no escape for Utrecht from being involved in her neighbour's quarrels. Emissaries from Guelders appeared at Groningen and attempted to persuade the people to work against Burgundian policy, and many thought that a close alliance with the duke of Guelders was the single chance of escaping the smothering embrace of Burgundy, whose effects they had seen under Bishop David. The people of the Sticht knew that Maximilian's victory over Guelders would be highly dangerous to their liberty, especially as in the north of Friesland Burgundian power seemed the only means of saving Friesland from their civil war. If Guelders and Friesland were once in Burgundian hands what would happen to the Sticht ? At the best, there would be complete dependence on Burgundy, as had existed in David's times and still obtained in Liege and Cambrai.

Thus free Guelders, the Hook party in Utrecht, and the Schieringer faction in Friesland all drew together in dread of the common foe, the Burgundian, in whom the ancient Holland policy of conquest, of supremacy in the northern provinces, had found a newer and more powerful representative. Charles of Guelders was the centre of a doughty coalition against which the Burgundian power had to contend before a union of all the Netherlands could be attained.

FRIESLAND

For a time Friesland, too, was in danger of being swept into the Burgundian territories. In the last years of his reign Duke Philip made repeated efforts to obtain recognition as overlord there. There were negotiations with the Frisians but, supported by the promises of Emperor Frederick III., the threatened lands of Oostergoo, Westergoo, and Zevenwolden made a convention in 1456, that each and every Frisian should protect the other against alien sovereigns.

The "Estates of the lands" which the historians of Frisian quarrels mention at this time, that is the assembly of the clergy and nobles of Oostergoo, Westergoo, and Zevenwolden, endeavoured to win imperial support and to obtain recognition of the privileges granted to them by Charles IV. and Sigismund. During Philip's rule no further encroachment was made on the rights of the Frisians who had free commercial intercourse with Holland and Zealand. They really formed an independent state, having nothing to do with Burgundian sovereignty. This changed under Charles the Bold. Scarcely had he come to power when he attempted (1469) to force the Frisians to submission. As successor to the counts of Holland he tried to make good the old claims of his ancestors. The Frisians at once dropped civil feuds and made common cause against the duke. In 1470, there was a meeting at Enkhuizen between the Frisian Estates and the deputies of the duke, and the terms of the tribute demanded were discussed. It was plain that the Frisians did not intend to refuse a tax, but they could not agree about the amount. The Frisians were not willing to pay more than a stiver per house—the ancient *huslaga*—while the Burgundian council demanded a silver penny according to the duke's decree. They separated without reaching a conclusion. There was discussion about

the alleged "privilege of Charlemagne," about the appointment of a podesta to be chosen annually by the Frisians and confirmed by the duke to be his personal representative. The document of July, 1470, proclaimed by Duke Charles, but never enforced, stipulated that if the Frisians had not appointed the podesta a month after the end of the year the choice fell to the duke. This officer was to receive one-sixtieth of the *huslaga* and a third of the fines. He was intrusted with the maintenance of justice and the collection of the ducal revenues. He together with his council was to form a court of appeal. In this manner the podesta was to be the representative of the sovereign in Friesland.

But the duke's demands were too excessive. The Frisians refused to accede and preferred war. Charles now prepared a fleet to attack Friesland. The old story was repeated. Some of the Frisians, belonging to the Vetkoopers, allied themselves to the public foe. Lord Offe van Heemstra of Dokkum and others followed the example of their forefathers and betook themselves to Holland to help the invader of Friesland. Fleets were prepared to renew the ancient contest when Edward IV. of England asked aid from his brother-in-law Charles against his own foes. The force destined for Friesland was turned to England and Friesland came off free. Later, the duke was too busy elsewhere to think of Frisian affairs.

The Frisians showed an equal reluctance to aid the emperor against Charles at the time of the siege of Nancy. When Frederick made a requisition of every fourth man from Friesland, the Estates of the Frisian provinces of Oostergoo, Westergoo, and Zevenwolden met at Sneek, and, after discussion, declined to furnish the quota. The defeat of the Burgundian force at Nancy averted one danger for a time and then the Schieringers and Vetkoopers began their old struggle.

It is an endless and wearisome tale as related by Worp van Thabor, this story of the little feuds of city against city, hamlet against hamlet, cloister against cloister. The Galamas and Donias in Gaasterland, the Harinxmas at Sneek, the Sjaardas in Franeker, the Camstras and Aylvas, the Jongsmas and Meckemas, the Martenas and Juwemas, the Douwemas and Dekamas, and hundreds in addition were continually at swords' points with each other. Hamlets and homesteads were burned, cattle lifted, church and household plate stolen, villages and cities plundered, cloisters and churches destroyed without end. Janko Douwama writes upon Friesland about 1500, and calls his book *Prœliarius*, or "Strife Book," as a fitting name for the chronicle of these weary quarrels. Friesland's "satanic discords" evoked not alone the curse of Janko Douwama, and even the Frisians were forced to confess that a stranger hand would be the only means of insuring domestic order.

Those who wished Burgundian sovereignty were deeply disappointed at the result of the battle of Nancy. It seemed as though a restoration of order could only be hoped for from Groningen, where the new East Frisian count had been acknowledged as sovereign.

We have already seen how the city of Groningen had attempted to subdue the districts in her vicinity as early as the fourteenth century, and how in the fifteenth this had finally succeeded. "Little Friesland,"[1] or the region between the Lauwers and Ems, began to separate from the rest. Groningen repeatedly interfered in the affairs of that part of Friesland which lay between the Lauwers and the Vlie, anxious to exploit the district to the advantage of their commerce as they had succeeded in doing in that between the Lauwers and the Ems. In 1467, the city of Groningen received Kollumerland into its covenant for thirty years and in this way obtained a foothold

[1] The phrase used by Emperor Frederick in 1474.

in the northeast corner of the portion of Friesland that had remained free. A fortress was established in the castle at Kollum capable of holding the mastery over the surrounding country. In 1473, an opportunity was offered to Groningen to assert herself further in certain negotiations with the emperor. The Groningers and their allies sent their secretary to the emperor at Cologne, together with the influential nobles Unico of Farmsam and John Rengers, to discuss Friesland matters. The Groningers hoped to have their sovereignty confirmed in the Frisian regions, but the emperor, although willing to grant free trade in the land, denied the Groningers the right of jurisdiction over their adjacent territory (the Ommelands), and declared such land free although the alliance with Groningen remained in force. The emperor further asked aid against Burgundy and the city assumed a portion of the expenses incurred in defending Neuss against Duke Charles whose power they always feared.

The battle of Nancy relieved them of this spectre, and then the burghers began to take part in Frisian affairs in a way to alarm the people in the Oostergoo and Westergoo. They united and obliged Groningen to renew the old treaty of 1422. For a period of ten years, Groningen was to refrain from any attempt to force new portions of Friesland to submit to their authority. It was also stipulated that meetings should be held alternately at Leeuwarden and Groningen to consider all questions that might arise pertaining to the city and to the Frisian territories. The emperor was quite content to let them alone if they gave him tribute from time to time. But this tribute seemed very uncertain if order were not re-established and, in 1478, Emperor Frederick appointed a commission from his council to regulate Frisian affairs. Doctor Arnold van Loo came to negotiate with the Frisians in the emperor's name. At a diet held at Leeuwarden in 1479, it was decreed that tribute should be

paid to the emperor. At the same time the envoy took the opportunity to attempt to stamp out the feuds. In the emperor's name he recognised the so-called "privileges of Charlemagne," but allowed the imperial power of appointing a podesta to fall into abeyance and confirmed the existing elders and other judges.

Van Loo then went from Friesland to Groningen and proposed that the city should be appointed podesta over Friesland west of the Lauwers in consideration of an annual payment of ten thousand guilders. This offer shows plainly that the emperor was only concerned about his tribute. In the following year, Van Loo returned from Germany to Groningen with a sealed imperial document in which Frederick III. bestowed the desired podestaship upon Groningen, granted the right of coinage, and made knights of the members of the council, all in consideration of the sum paid. The price, however, was too high for the Groningers. They went no further than promises, and the emperor's offer was withdrawn, while the city declared that they were contented with the hereditary feudal sovereignty over Friesland. But that, too, bore no result at the time although Van Loo spent years travelling around expounding his plans.

Meanwhile the situation in Friesland became so strained that the cities of Leeuwarden, Sneek, Bolsward, and Sloten again held an assembly (*gaarleger*), and formed an alliance to maintain order in the lands between the Vlie and the Lauwers. No result followed. Leeuwarden itself, which had obtained the right of coinage from the emperor and half considered itself an imperial city, even adopting a new coat-of-arms with the double imperial eagle, suffered an attack from the Schieringer party in 1487. Disorder reigned everywhere, and Van Loo vainly made repeated attempts to be a peacemaker in the emperor's name.

Friesland unaided was powerless to put an end to this

state of things. Imperial power meant nothing, and it was evident that a foreign force must intervene. The De Galmas and other Vetkoopers fixed their hopes on Holland where the Cods were temporarily in the ascendent. Substantial military aid was furnished by the Burgundian stadtholder of Holland, Count John of Egmont, but these troops were repulsed at Hindeloopen by the Schieringers. New disturbances in Holland made it impossible for the Cods to give further aid to their Frisian friends.

Groningen's chances improved and she was quite prepared to enter the Frisian quarrels as a decisive force. She had made herself master of the Westerwold in her immediate vicinity by driving Hajo of Westerwold from his castle and by taking the little territory of Münster in pledge. They then made a covenant with the inhabitants of the Frisian territory between the Lauwers and Ems. Their fortresses dominated the Frisian territories. The arrogant merchants, who ruled over the old capital of Drenthe as burgomasters and councillors, whose ships drove an extensive trade in the Baltic and the North Sea, dictated their will to the Frisian Ommelands and hoped to extend their authority farther.

The free coinage granted to Groningen in 1484, the arms with the double eagle assumed shortly before, were symbols of the power enjoyed by the patrician families of the city in full measure. Groningen was a free imperial city, so the leaders of the burgher administration assumed virtual sovereignty and no one troubled himself about the nominal overlord, the bishop of Utrecht, whom the Groningers twenty-five years previously had solemnly accepted as sovereign, out of fear of Burgundy.

It is a remarkable phenomenon in Netherland history to find the increasing supremacy of this commercial city over the Frisian districts in the very midst of the confusion prevailing after the death of Duke Charles. The

historian of Groningen's rise and fall, Sicke Benninghe, proudly points to the years from 1480–1498 when his beloved city played the part of Venice in the midst of her *terra firma*, when the descendants of the Drenthe and Frisian landowners, who had settled in Groningen and grown great through trade and industry, began to feel themselves the kings of Friesland. In later days, when Groningen's glory began to wane, when, within the city walls the guilds began to show their power, it was the memory of Groningen's supremacy which still roused his enthusiasm, and induced him to write the history of his father city for posterity as a remembrance of the brilliant years when his ancestors were the helmsmen of Groningen's policy. From 1490–1525, a very extraordinary man, the pastor of St. Martins, William Frederick, was really at the head of affairs. Besides being a clergyman he was a statesman of note who served his city with extraordinary cleverness in these brilliant but also most difficult years of their history.

In 1491, Groningen had accomplished her desires, in the chief points at least. Oostergoo submitted in the main, thanks to the Vetkoopers with whose assistance the city won the upper hand of her Schieringer opponents. A Groninger fort was erected first at Dokkum, afterwards at Leeuwarden, and the mastery of the city in Oostergoo was assured. Also in Westergoo the Vetkoopers continued to ask the city for help and the burghers were prepared to confirm Groningen supremacy (1492). Sneek, the chief city of Westergoo, was threatened with a siege. Just then a new imperial ambassador, Lord Otto of Langen, canon of Mainz, came to avert the threatening domination of Groningen in Friesland, but his mission failed. Soon a new imperial order arrived forbidding the Groningers' encroachments upon the Frisian liberties, while the bishop of Münster and the elector of Cologne were selected as arbitrators in the quarrels. And

when Emperor Frederick died, his successor Maximilian seemed not the less inclined to hold the Groningers in check.

At the end of 1493, Otto of Langen appeared in Maximilian's name with a stately embassy and published new imperial proclamations of the emperor maintaining Frisian liberty in respect to Groningen, recognising ancient privileges, and urging mutual peace. In unmistakable terms he forbade the city, in the emperor's name, to extend her sovereignty in Friesland. He assembled the Frisians at Sneek for a diet, on January 1, 1494, to elect a podesta. In case of their refusal, one was to be appointed by the emperor, either Albert of Saxony, who had just restored order in Burgundy, or Philip of Cleves, Lord of Ravestein, or else Junker Uko, brother of the East Frisian count.

In dread of a foreign lord, the deputies at Sneek—mainly Schieringers from the Westergoo, chose Juw Dekama as podesta, a peace-loving man who had taken little part in the quarrels. A council of twenty-four was also appointed—a council of appeal. This choice aroused a violent opposition on the part of the Vetkoopers, egged on by the Groningers, who were masters in Oostergoo, and who fiercely resented the idea of a podesta. Under the leadership of Juw Juwinga and the Galamas, the Vetkoopers, aided by the Groningers, refused to acknowledge the Schiering podesta and threatened the very life of the imperial ambassador when he appeared at Bolsward.

> "Lord Otto of Langen,
> Now is he caught,
> To-morrow shall hang."

So sang the youths of Bolsward to welcome the ambassador. Otto saved his life, but he was forced to leave Friesland. He asked the Frisian party in Groningen to send deputies to him at Deventer, but this failed, and

the disheartened envoy returned to the emperor. He had good reason to be angry. By means of bribery, Groningen had obtained the confirmation of her "covenant," that is, her sovereignty in Oostergoo, for a sum of four thousand guilders, which were most opportune to the prince, on account of his plans for a Turkish war. In the autumn of 1494, the Groningers triumphantly displayed to the imperial ambassador the letters wherein the ancient measures against Groningen were rescinded and the very basis of his negotiations destroyed. Shortly afterwards new imperial messengers appeared, who made clear the changes in the royal policy and expressed the sovereign's dissatisfaction with him.

The result of these intrigues was that at the end of 1494, Westergoo and Zevenwolden, in February, Groningen and Oostergoo, swore fealty to the emperor, while the city of Groningen was placed under imperial protection and her rights in Friesland were recognised. At the same time Friesland furnished the required tribute. Thus Groningen was temporarily triumphant and set her mind again on the Westergoo, while the Schieringers were powerful enough to check her pretensions for the moment. Friesland was attractive to others too. Albert of Saxony and the East Friesland Count Edzard began to show a disposition to have a finger in that pie. Both intrigued with the imperial ambassadors and with the leaders of the Schieringer party, hoping to gain some advantage for themselves out of all the quarrels.

Of these two princes, Albert of Saxony was by far the more dangerous for Friesland liberty. As stadtholder of the king of the Romans in the Netherlands, he had suppressed all signs of revolt with a vigorous hand and had thereby incurred great expense, which was defrayed, in the main, by his own revenues from his Saxon possessions and by personal loans. In 1494, Maximilian's indebtedness to his lieutenant amounted to some three hundred

thousand gold guilders,[1] a gigantic sum for the times, especially for the prince of a poor little land like Albert's Saxon duchy.

To give security for the repayment of these disbursements, besides vast annuities and a large income, several important castles were resigned to the stadtholder: Vilvoorden in Brabant, Gemappes in Hainaut, Gorkum and Woerden in Holland, later those at Limburg, Sluis, Haarlem, Zierikzee, Middelburg, and Medemblik. But there were no cash payments in spite of the duke's repeated dunning. Maximilian and his son resorted to all kinds of subterfuges to avoid the complaints of their creditors. They also made every effort to pay their debts, but the money was not forthcoming. When Philip assumed the government in 1494, the relations of the king of the Romans and his son to their burdensome creditor, to whom their house had great reason to be thankful, became still more unpleasant, almost hostile. Albert's German mercenaries were not only very distasteful to the Netherlanders, but finally took on a threatening attitude toward the prince. And still they could not quite spare him and his troops in the war with Guelders, as was very plain in 1495. The Guelders war came just in time to rescue the Burgundian-Austrian dynasty from their difficulties. In 1495, one of the Friesland parties, the Schieringers and their adherents, applied to Albert and besought him to induce Maximilian to appoint him podesta over Friesland. Albert did not think the time was yet ripe. He sent a thousand men over to Friesland under Neithard Fox and Daam van Tijll, but declined the proffered dignity, while at the same time he began to have serious thoughts of a campaign against Friesland.

Three years passed by before this thought became a reality. In 1495–96, the German mercenaries waged

[1] In 1492 it was only about 270,000 gold guilders; in 1496 the amount was 325,000.

a devastating guerrilla warfare in Westergoo from Sneek and Bolsward, in which no mercy was shown to priest or layman, woman or child, house or court, church or convent. The Groningers displayed just as little tenderness, and the result was tragic for the country. This was the period of the Groningen "passion," so called by a popular rhymester, who recounts the defeat of the Groningers near Franeker, in limping metre. The horrors of the domination of Groningen was the burden of the song. Peace was made, to be sure, but it was not of long duration. Albert stirred the Vetkoopers to action and, in 1498, Tjerk Walta with fifteen hundred fresh German mercenaries fell upon unfortunate Friesland. Albert's part in all this was not suspected, so when the conditions of the land became unbearable under the ravages of the Germans and of the native troops who tried to repel them, the Schieringer nobles of Westergoo, weary of warfare, made an alliance with the cities of Sneek and Franeker and resolved to invite the duke to the land as sovereign.

Albert was quite ready to accede to the request of the deputies who came to him at Medemblik in March, 1498. Fear of the troops, really egged on in secret by the desired protector, induced the remaining Frisians to approve this step. Albert was accordingly made legal lord of Westergoo under imperial supremacy.

It was soon evident that the duke was not going to content himself with Westergoo. In May, Neithard Fox invaded Oostergoo, devastated Dokkum, and pressed on to the Groningerland. So great was the dread of the reckless Saxon men-at-arms, that Groningen renounced her rights in Oostergoo and Westergoo and bribed Neithard Fox with a sum of thirty-two thousand gold guilders to retreat to Friesland. Well might the Frisian historian exclaim that the Groningers were caught in the very net which they had set for another.

They had rejoiced at the inroad of the Saxon bands into Westergoo and now suffered the consequences. In the same summer, Oostergoo, except Leeuwarden, which remained faithful to Groningen, acknowledged the duke as sovereign on the same basis as Westergoo.

In the meanwhile Albert himself, at Vienna at the imperial court, and at Brussels in that of the archduke, prosecuted his purpose of confirming his sovereignty in Friesland. Maximilian seized a favourable opportunity to satisfy the irksome creditor and to establish him, as decreed on July 20, 1498, at Freiburg, as hereditary governor and podesta of Friesland: namely of Oostergoo, Westergoo, Zevenwolden, Stellingwerf, the Groningen territories, and those of Ditmarsh, Strandfriesland, and Wursten. It was stipulated that the territory could be redeemed by the Roman king or his heirs for one hundred thousand guilders—a clause that gave rise to a false opinion that the land was bought by Albert.

The affairs at Brussels cost more trouble. The Archduke Philip urged his own claims as count of Holland. Through Maximilian's mediation it was agreed, in 1499, that Philip should recognise the new podesta of Friesland under the conditions that the latter should renounce a certain portion of the old debt, some two hundred and fifty thousand gold guilders, and give back the pledged cities. For this sum and the above-mentioned one hundred thousand the Burgundian claims on Friesland could be bought back at any time.

These conferences and treaties, with the financial stipulations, show plainly what had really happened. The Burgundian indebtedness to Albert was bought off with the podestaship over Friesland. The Roman king sacrificed the liberties of the Frisians to the needs of his own dynasty. And how anxious he was to satisfy the demands of his great creditor shows from the fact that, in 1499, the city of Groningen and the count of East Fries-

land were ordered to recognise the authority of the hereditary podesta, with complete disregard for the rights of the Utrecht bishop and of the East Frisian count himself, who was meanwhile established as independent sovereign.

It is plain that this covenant with the duke of Saxony could not be agreeable to the court at Brussels. Besides the sacrifice of his ancient rights in these regions, the Burgundian sovereign was to rest content with the formation of a considerable realm on the North Sea! And scarcely thirty years had passed since Duke Charles had been on the point of renewing the Frisian expeditions of his ancestors!

We can see how, from the very beginning, the Burgundian government worked against the Saxon supremacy in Friesland, first secretly, and then more openly, and we hear rumours of plans to collect money needful for the redemption of the Frisian territories. So long as Albert lived and the Guelders war made heavy drains on the Burgundian treasury, there was, however, little chance of this. For the present, contests were confined to questions about the possession of Ameland and Terschelling, which had remained in the control of the Hollanders since the campaigns of Albert of Bavaria and William VI. Albert claimed these islands, yes, even Texel and Wieringen, which he urged belonged to Friesland. There was suspicion at Brussels that Albert's refusal to vacate Medemblik was connected with schemes on West Friesland and Kennemerland, and this was the more probable as very little sympathy for the Burgundian government had been evinced in that region. There was every evidence that a collision was imminent between the rising Burgundian and waxing Saxon powers, so that the ancient Holland schemes in this region became of slight moment.

Without much trouble, Wilwolt of Schaumburg, appointed by Albert as stadtholder, succeeded in obtaining submission in the Oostergoo and Zevenwolden and also

in making Count Edzard of East Friesland acknowledge Saxon sovereignty. The city of Groningen caused him more difficulty, as the burghers were unwilling to renounce their ambitious schemes. Valiant Neithard Fox perished in an attempt to march through the Ommelands, which the city opposed vigorously, even calling for help from their ancient sovereign, the bishop of Utrecht. They also urged the earlier royal briefs which granted to Groningen the sovereignty in Friesland, as an answer to Saxon claims, and begged the bishop to mediate for them with the duke of Saxony.

But the weak prelate could do little more than make a mild protest against Saxon domination in his own city, and offer his mediation. He had, however, to help against the doughty Saxon, who came to Friesland in the summer of 1499, accompanied by his son, Duke Henry, to receive homage. This homage was given at Franeker and at Bolsward for Westergoo, at Leeuwarden for Oostergoo and Zevenwolden. Albert tarried in Friesland until the autumn, also receiving homage from Edzard of East Friesland. Then he returned by way of Emden to his Saxon duchy, leaving his son Henry at Franeker as stadtholder, with a chancellor, the Saxon Sigismund Pflug, and a council of Frisian prelates and nobles to help him rule the land. He left, besides, several Saxon nobles, among whom was Wilwolt of Schaumburg, now steward of Friesland, and a force of German troops.

Groningen, however, persisted in her refusal to recognise Saxon authority. There were repeated attempts to resist it, although, at the same time, a Saxon party was formed in Friesland, consisting mainly of former Schieringers. The Vetkooper force, however, proved the stronger, supported as it was by Groningen and secretly egged on by the governments of Burgundy and Utrecht. Count Edzard did not seem to be wholly trustworthy. Duke Henry was quite unequal to the difficult task of

governing the headstrong Frisians. Moreover, the Saxon officials demanded heavy and unwonted taxes, which, in addition to the capricious tyranny of the stadtholder and his officials and the continuous plundering of the German mercenaries, weighed heavily upon the unhappy country, and soon the Frisians began to long to be quit of their new masters.

In April, 1500, a violent revolt took place which spread from Stavoren to the Lauwers. The whole country rose like one man in revolt against the foreign oppressor, and Duke Henry was speedily shut in at Franeker by a large force, aided by the Groningers, who evinced a readiness to assist the rebels. From all sides gathered the Frisian peasants, armed with various weapons and clad in motley clothing. Siward Aylva was chosen commander-general, and with great difficulty kept the peace between the companies as they assembled, all inflamed by common hatred against the alien oppressors. Archduke Philip roundly refused to aid the young duke, declaring that just then he had need of his troops elsewhere. He offered to mediate between the stadtholder and the rebels, but his manner of so doing gave rise to the suspicion that the revolt was not unsatisfactory to him. The bishop of Münster, too, showed a disposition to take advantage of the duke's embarrassment to extend his episcopal jurisdiction in Groningen.

Albert had already complained to Maximilian of the opposition of Philip the Fair, and when he heard of the siege of Franeker he waxed still more indignant. Meanwhile Duke Henry was in great danger in Friesland. The old duke made every exertion to raise a considerable force in Saxony, and set out for East Friesland to make a juncture with Count Edzard and force his way into Friesland proper in order to rescue his son from his critical situation. The Frisians were just about to put the young prince in chains when they heard of Albert's ar-

rival in the region of the Ems. They threw up a fortification near Bomsterzijl on the Lauwers, and manned it strongly in the hope of blocking Albert's course. By that time he had penetrated into the Groningen territory, driving the Frisian and Groningen troops before him; finally he laid siege to the city, well assured that the Frisian peasants would not hold together in the seasons of tilling and haying. Events turned out as he had foreseen. In July, the Frisian peasant army fell asunder and the remnant which stuck by Bomsterzijl were easily scattered. This defeat discouraged the besiegers before Franeker. Many took flight under Siward Aylva himself, the remainder were almost annihilated, and Franeker was relieved.

Dreadful was the vengeance of the Saxon. Leeuwarden paid a heavy penalty and the hamlets and villages were plundered and burnt. A number of Frisians, both clergy and laymen, fled to foreign parts, while many peasants took refuge from the embittered foe in the forests of Zevenwolden. Henry wished to put the whole of Friesland to fire and sword, but Albert spared the unhappy land, while making it suffer deep humiliation. In consideration of a heavy tax collected village by village, in consideration of the surrender of all weapons, and finally after an humble suit for mercy in which every village was personally represented, the offended duke granted forgiveness. The cloisters and captains were treated in a similar manner. Stellingwerf, too, which had never given homage to the Saxon, was now forced to do so and punished as severely as the rest. After this wholesale chastisement, Albert laid siege to Groningen with his entire army, determined to force the city to submission once for all. But the defence was so valiant that the duke, who did not have entire confidence in his army, would have been forced to raise the siege after six weeks had not the bishop of Utrecht just then succeeded in

making a truce. George of Thun, sent by Maximilian to make peace between the combatants, was intrusted with the administration of the Ommelands, and the decision was left to the imperial court as to who should rule there, Groningen or Duke Albert. Albert left the vicinity of Groningen and betook himself, weary and disheartened, to Emden, where he died in September. His body was taken to Saxony.

The death of this dreaded warrior was the signal for a new uprising among the Frisians. The Frisian refugees who were in the cities across the Yssel offered to Philip of Burgundy their aid in expelling the Saxons from Friesland and in playing the contested territory into his hands. Philip was willing enough to meet these advances, but wished at the same time to retain friendly relations with the Saxon princes, who were under his father's protection. So he began to negotiate with George and Henry of Saxony about the purchase of their Saxon rights, negotiations stained by much double dealing, which dragged on until 1504.

After the conquest, Friesland was placed under Hugo of Leisnig, stadtholder, and the Groningen territory was intrusted to Edzard of East Friesland. But the Saxon sovereignty was not on a firm basis here for a long time. Groningen continued to be a point from which danger constantly threatened. Count Edzard succeeded in driving the Groningers from the Ommelands and in reducing the city's territory, but the city itself was unsubdued.

The bishop of Utrecht found that the ancient rights of the Sticht in the city of Groningen were more and more ignored. Backed by the Overyssel cities he offered his mediation and succeeded in establishing a truce (1501) between the Saxons and Groningers, which was renewed from time to time.

During this peaceful interval, Duke George of Saxony

made his appearance in Friesland (1504). He had bought off the rights of his younger brother in Friesland and was determined to receive homage in his newly acquired realm. He proved to be a clever prince, a good and vigorous ruler, who succeeded in organising the government in Friesland on a better basis than it had ever been before. Several measures adopted by Albert were now put in force. The central government already in existence was administered at Harlingen, instead of at Franeker as formerly, where the stadtholder felt secure in the castle erected there. After the revolt this government maintained order, balked the efforts of the exiles to overthrow Saxon power, imposed a fixed annual tax upon cities and villages, and looked to the strengthening of the dikes. The real value of a vigorous hand was felt by the Frisians especially in this regard, for the floods of 1502 had wrought dreadful devastation in Friesland and markedly diminished the terrain between the Ems and the Lauwers. Count Hugo appointed a college of twelve to regulate the dikes throughout Friesland, a most important measure.

Scarcely had homage been duly paid to the new ruler when he demanded that the Frisian nobles should receive their hereditary estates from his hand. Most violently did the descendants of the ancient families protest against this innovation. Although the duke persisted in his requisition for a long time, he finally realised that he was too weak to venture to embitter the nobles when the peasants were just on the brink of revolt; so he withdrew his request. The people were, however, forced to give Duke George the twenty-first penny of all their possessions and revenues. After long opposition the clergy, too, consented to pay the twenty-first penny of all their produce, for so willed the lord. From this time the tax was imposed upon nobles and clergy as well as upon the common cottager, a measure hitherto undreamed of. This new sovereign insisted on having a uniform code

of laws, or *landrecht*, for the whole country. He gave the people the choice between the Saksenspiegel and the ancient Frisian law, and then had a code drawn up from the ancient customs, which was formally proclaimed in the territory between the Vlie and the Lauwers. The mint had already been put on a good basis by Duke Albert, but weights and measures still remained to be regulated. The old Frisian system was abandoned, and the ell of Workum and the other measures of Leeuwarden were introduced, while the weights of Cologne were adopted as the legal standard throughout Friesland. Furthermore, heavy taxes were levied on wine, beer, and cloth, which were to be collected by excise clerks in the ports.

Finally the duke established an administration for Friesland consisting of six persons,—two Germans, two Frisian nobles, and two jurists, one of whom bore the title of chancellor. In addition to these six "regents" there was the court (*hof van het overste recht*) of supreme law composed of seven persons,—one of the regents as president, with two jurists and four Frisian nobles. The court was obliged to sit four times a year. The ancient communities and heads of communities (*grietmannen*) remained in being. Appeal was allowed from the judgment pronounced by these heads, or great-men, to the supreme court, which furthermore was intrusted with the trial of all capital crimes. Leeuwarden was appointed as a residence of the two chief governmental colleges,—the board of regents and the supreme court,—and there the duke built a chancery (*kanselarij*) for "all those who had to deal with supreme law."

In truth Friesland had never before enjoyed such well regulated conditions, and well might Worp of Thabor praise the Saxon government after enumerating all these measures in his chronicle. "For the Saxon lords administered justice to all, to the poor as well as to the rich without exception, and they maintained good order and

peace within the land. Also the Saxon lords furthered national prosperity by making dikes, drains, and sluices, and repairing old waterways and ferries." Besides the general reparation of the dike system and the excavation of the Dokkumer Ee, the protection of the Bilt, the mouth of the old Middle Sea, is especially worthy of mention. This had been gradually choked with slime. As early as the end of the fourteenth century a high mud bank had appeared, which had seriously increased by the end of the fifteenth. The Saxon government carried through these changes with a vigorous hand. Duke George had the Bilt surveyed and intrusted the diking to four Hollanders, who completed the task within three years and within ten had colonised the redeemed land. How much attention Duke George gave to the Frisian affairs appears not only from the documents of Worp of Thabor but from the duke's own papers still in existence, among which are elaborate instructions for his Frisian officials.

The condition of Friesland proper between Gerckesbridge and the sea which separates Friesland and Holland was thus greatly bettered in these years, although complaints were always afloat about the heavy and unaccustomed taxes imposed by the new master. Peace was maintained until 1514, thanks to the vigorous government, first of the regent and later of the Saxon stadtholder reëstablished after 1506, Count Henry of Stolberg. The latter was, as appears from Worp of Thabor, much beloved in Friesland as a just and energetic man, who in all his transactions considered the real welfare of Friesland and was careful to respect the prejudices of the Frisians at the same time that he carried out the ducal commands. But he died in 1509, and was succeeded by a man of quite another calibre, Count Everwijn of Bentheim, a hard master, whose management was ill adapted to reconcile the Frisians with the Saxon sovereignty.

At first this was not apparent and things went fairly well. Descriptions of everlasting feuds which fill their pages disappear from the records of the Frisian chroniclers, who had harped on little else throughout the whole fifteenth century. They find time to speak of the noted misfortunes, the difficulties of diking the Bilt, and the terrible floods of 1508–1509, which harassed Friesland seriously, but whose devastations were speedily repaired by restoration of the dikes.

The condition of affairs in Groningen still remained troublesome and, in connection therewith, the relation to Count Edzard of East Friesland. All attempts to induce the Groningers to accept Saxon authority had failed. The bishop of Utrecht and the Upper Yssel cities were no more successful in their efforts to arrange matters. The question had to be decided by arms. Under the leadership of its clever political councillor, William Frederick, Groningen prepared for a desperate struggle against the Saxon and East Frisian troops. Count Edzard threw up a circle of fortifications around the city and then erected a fort on Drenthe ground in order to cut off Groningen from all approaches. This aroused vehement dissatisfaction in the cities of Utrecht and Kampen, which declared their intention of maintaining the claims of the Sticht over Groningen, but the bishop's weakness and the dissent of Zwolle and Deventer were reasons why there were no energetic efforts made to maintain their pretensions. Nor could the beleaguered city obtain any support from King Philip. The siege went on and the fall of the city seemed imminent. Luckily for the Groningers, just then a violent quarrel broke out between Count Edzard and the Saxon rulers. As soon as the burghers heard this they offered to recognise the East Frisian count as sovereign. The latter, who had from the beginning played a double rôle, appeared in the city in May, 1506, and received personal homage as lord.

Great was the bitterness of Duke George at this faithless action of his former ally, but the Saxon sovereignty in East Friesland was still so unstable that the duke deemed it unadvisable to risk war lest he should lose Friesland proper too. He made a virtue of necessity and confirmed Count Edzard in his stadtholdership over Groningerland, ancient Friesland between the Lauwers and the Ems, while the crafty East Frisian declared that he would hold Groningen temporarily in behalf of the emperor until it were determined to whom the city belonged. This was the situation up to 1512: Friesland under Saxon control, Groningen so nominally, but really in the possession of Count Edzard. Meanwhile it was plain that the encroachments of the East Frisian were to be dreaded.

It leaked out that there was a conspiracy in Friesland in his favour. The increasing discontent among nobles, clergy, and peasants about their heavy taxes led them to prefer any new venture to Saxon government. Duke George complained to the emperor about the attitude of the East Frisian count and obtained an imperial brief commanding Edzard to pay homage to the duke, his lawful suzerain, and to fulfil his remaining obligations. But Edzard disregarded the brief, did no homage, gave no account of his administration over Groningen, and bore himself as independent lord and master. He continued his intrigues with the discontented Frisians, a party that gradually increased as a result of the vigorous measures against the conspiracy of 1512 in which several were executed. The situation became very critical. Duke George decided to invade Friesland. Without much difficulty he obtained from Maximilian an imperial interdict against Edzard and Groningen, and hired a large number of rough troopers who had served in the Guelders war and who banded themselves together under the name of the Black Troop. In the spring of 1514, this Black Troop—five thousand men strong—invaded East Friesland. To their

number was added the troop of Duke Henry of Brunswick, who hoped to profit largely from the interdict pronounced against Count Edzard, his personal foe. In April Duke George himself appeared and laid siege to Groningen with more hirelings. The firebrand of war was again thrown into Friesland and a new period of contention began.

> "What Groningen does all Friesland can,
> This is well known to every man."

So sang the inhabitants, and Duke George appreciated it thoroughly. He carried on the siege vigorously and sacrificed everything to gain possession of the coveted city. When the resources of his Saxon revenues were exhausted and he had no more castles and cities to mortgage, when the money-lenders in Germany and the Netherlands would trust him no further, then Friesland was forced to furnish new tributes. Luck seemed to reward his exertions. The duke of Brunswick overpowered the greater portion of East Friesland and Count Edzard took refuge in Groningen. The Brunswicker perished, it is true, but his troops, joined with those of Duke George, seized Appingadam, August 5, 1514, and the population was almost exterminated by the Black Troop.

The fall of this bulwark finally brought Groningen to a negotiation with the Saxon duke, and had he not overreached himself and demanded that the city should throw itself on his mercy, or lack of mercy, he would have reached his goal. William Frederick, the pastor, who then "ruled the city of Groningen, and the city of Groningen did nothing except what passed through his hands, and what he advised, that was what was done in Groningen," as Worp of Thabor says, tried to persuade the duke to use tenderer methods, but Duke George would not heed his word and thus lost his best chance of success. Finally the Groningers, in consultation with Count Edzard, called on Charles of Guelders for aid. He had

already cast his eye on the region and rejoiced at an opportunity for putting Duke George's nose out of joint. In the name of the Groningers, Count Edzard offered Duke Charles the sovereignty over the city and the territory between the Ems and the Lauwers, and hastened back to Groningen with his acceptance, immediately followed by a Guelders force of four thousand men under Lord William of Ooy, who exacted homage for his chief with the half-forced assent of Count Edzard, who shortly afterwards retired to Emden in disgust.

Duke George, who had yielded momentarily, speedily renewed the siege of Groningen, suppressing the Black Troop with a vigorous hand. He found himself in great stress for money and was forced to propose that Friesland should buy off the annual tax, imposed in 1504, for a round sum, thirteen times as large as the year tax itself. Friesland, exhausted by repeated drains, was hardly in a condition to fulfil this demand. Gold, silver, tinware, pots, and kettles were brought to Leeuwarden to be appraised for the sake of attaining the desired sum. At the same time, the Frieslanders asked anxiously how their ruler thought their governmental expenses were to be defrayed without the year tax. The prince's answer that then his territories of Saxony, Meissen, and Thuringia would assume the responsibility was not very reassuring, for the poverty of Saxony was well known in Friesland.

> "Freszland[1] should be Friesland's name
> It has gobbled at a gulp Saxony and Meissen."

So the street song rang. Even before the last tribute was offered in all Friesland, the Guelders troops landed in Gaasterland, led by the Frisian nobleman Janko Douwama, a bitter enemy of the Saxons.

The general dissatisfaction in Friesland increased enormously in these years, egged on by Count Edzard

[1] *Fressen* = to eat like an animal.

and the Groningers and possibly by the Burgundian government, hoping to have a finger in Frisian affairs. The old Vetkoopers were especially embittered, while Janko Douwama, who had been instrumental in introducing the duke of Guelders into the land, headed the party which adhered in the main to the invaders. In a very brief time Zevenwolden and the whole southern part of the Westergoo with Sloten, Sneek, and Bolsward fell into their hands. The Guelders people came as liberators from the hard Saxon yoke. It was repeated from mouth to mouth that they intended to restore the ancient Frisian liberty and that their duke, supported by France, would be nothing more than the podesta of free Friesland, which would nevermore suffer from tributes, excises, year taxes, or similar burdens.

Fine promises! From every quarter the Frisians gathered, hoping for the restoration of "ancient liberty." Even Leeuwarden, Franeker, and Dokkum wavered. The almost universal defection affected Duke George so deeply that, despairing of maintaining his authority, he retired with his son to Meissen, and left Friesland to its fate. The circumstance that he had no means to maintain the Black Troop was one of the reasons why he took this step. His departure was, in fact, over hasty, for he still had the strongest majority of the nobles on his side, together with the important cities of Leeuwarden, Franeker, and Harlingen, with their environs, and his officials were still in power at Leeuwarden.

Before his departure he let his unpaid troops loose in the Westergoo, where they could skirmish with the Guelders troops and plunder the defecting Frisians to their hearts' content.

The Saxon party in Friesland hoped, in spite of the duke's flight, to save the land for the Saxon sovereignty. Hessel Martena, Sybrand Roorda, and a number of other old Schieringers urged them to make an attack on Bols-

ward, but were speedily convinced that there was nothing to be done with these troops, and were rejoiced when the plunder-sated Troop finally forsook the Westergoo to make a raid on Holland. The respite was brief however. They shortly returned to Friesland, and the condition was worse than ever. The Guelders troops, too, who were to relieve the country from the plague of soldiery, were not much better themselves. They vied with the Saxons in raids and murder, while they plundered everything that the Saxons had left. In the south-west of Friesland piracy raged under such captains as the famous Great Pieter of Kimswerd and his no less famous nephew, Long Wierd. They fitted out a fleet of light craft and rendered the Zuyder Zee very unsafe for the Holland and Hanse ships. Count Edzard of East Friesland and the Groningers tried to fish in the troubled waters and threw themselves first on the Ommelands and then on Dokkum. Roving bands from Holland increased the confusion in the unfortunate territory.

Under these circumstances Duke George, the lawful sovereign, allowed himself to be persuaded to meet Burgundian offers respecting Friesland. In the spring of 1515, the duke's messengers appeared at Brussels and in April they came to an agreement. For the sum of one hundred thousand golden guilders George renounced his pretensions to Friesland in favour of Archduke Charles. This agreement was signed on May 19, 1515. Friesland was relieved from the oath to Duke George, and in June, Count Floris of Buren, lord of Ysselstein, appeared at Harlingen to assume the government in the name of Charles of Burgundy. The Saxon party hesitated a little, but Buren threatened to set the Black Troop on their castles and estates. Under the fear of this threat, on July 1, 1515, sixty-two nobles of the Saxon party, besides the city of Leeuwarden, acknowledged the Burgundian prince as hereditary lord in the name of the

emperor, his grandfather. Thus the fate of Friesland was involved with that of Guelders. At that date it depended on the result of the Guelders war whether the Frisian people should be under Burgundian or Guelders sovereignty.

THE END OF THE TROUBLES IN GUELDERS, FRIESLAND, AND THE STICHT

The issue of the contest between Guelders and Burgundy was not long doubtful. The courageous but weak duke of Guelders, even with French assistance, was powerless to maintain a struggle against the ruler of the Netherlands and Spain, nay, of nearly all Germany and Italy. Nevertheless he waged the unequal contest for years, aided in the Netherlands by the opposition which existed in Guelders and in portions of the Sticht and of Friesland to the Burgundian sovereignty. He was helped on, too, by the lukewarm assistance given to their sovereign by the Burgundian provinces, and finally by the aid of France, sometimes open and sometimes covert. Sometimes, too, aid was given by the Protestant princes in Germany, uneasy at every access to the imperial power. The course of this desperate struggle cannot be followed step by step, but the chief points are as follows: Charles made Friesland a basis of operations against Guelders. After a sanguinary struggle which involved all his neighbours and lasted nine years, the realm was finally brought under the Burgundian yoke.

In Friesland itself, Sneek was the chief headquarters of the Guelders party, Leeuwarden of the Burgundian, each under a stadtholder. For example, in 1518 the famous Martin van Rossem, one of Charles's most renowned commanders, was at Sneek, while the Burgundian stadtholder, Roggendorff, had his seat at Leeuwarden. From these places as centres, raids were made on the

open country, which suffered grievously year after year, without ever being entirely subdued by either of the two parties.

Meanwhile it was only too plain that Charles of Guelders had no intention of restoring their freedom to the Frisians. The utmost to be hoped was that he would regulate the government as in the days of the Saxon duke. Many Frisians were alienated from him when he showed no disposition to play into the hands of the nobles of his party. Certain nobles, among whom was Janko Douwama, who had been the first to call Duke Charles, withdrew to the Burgundian provinces. In 1519, Charles obtained the imperial dignity, and many Frisians were disposed to acknowledge him. There was crying need for a rest from the everlasting civil war, while the repeated floods which afflicted Friesland about that time had added to the universal misery.

The duke of Guelders thus gradually lost ground in Friesland. In 1521, the condition of his allies became very critical when George Schenk of Toutenburg was intrusted with the office of stadtholder of Friesland. The Guelders stadtholder, the count of Meurs, was quite unequal to coping with this doughty warrior and clever statesman and was forced to abandon Sneek. Only a few Guelderised Frisians, among whom was Pastor Idzard van Grouw, remained faithful to the Guelders duke. The others all declared for the Burgundians. Influential nobles like Hessel Martena, Kempo Martena, Tjaard Burmania, and Peter Cammingha were soon the recognised councillors of the Burgundian stadtholder. The moment had arrived to confirm the Burgundian sovereignty in Friesland. Janko Douwama and several of his friends tried to win over the adherents of Charles of Guelders to approve this step. They were the remnant of the old Vetkooper party which still had a foothold in the south-west part of the land at Bolsward, Sloten,

Workum, the Lemmer, and other places on the coast, regular pirate nests, and also in the Zevenwolden and at Dokkum. A few were persuaded to change sides, but the negotiators did not show themselves trustworthy. Janko Douwama was taken prisoner on a charge of treason and confined at Vilvoorden, where he stayed until his death. The matter had to be decided by arms, and at the command of the Regent Margaret, the lord of Wassenaar assumed the task of conquest. One place after another was wrested from the Guelders party until Sloten and the Lemmer, their last refuges, yielded in 1523.

Thus Friesland became Burgundian, although the Frisians claimed that they had yielded, not to Burgundy, but to the emperor, an opinion that the emperor allowed to pass.

On November 10, 1523, at a diet, the Estates of Friesland voted a large appropriation to the lord of Wassenaar, the commander of the victorious imperial troops, and to the stadtholder, "now that the land was completely reduced." From Stavoren to Gerckesbridge, Friesland was rendered obedient and took oath to Emperor Charles and to his heirs forever.

At the same time with Friesland proper, the district between the Ems and the Lauwers was also subdued by Burgundian troops. There the struggle between Groningen and Guelders had continued with but brief intermissions. Groningen itself suffered greatly. Commerce was seriously affected, and the guilds began to clamour for a strong government which could give them tranquillity. They formed a party against the patrician families who wished above all to retain, for the city, sovereignty in the country territory. The pastor, William Frederick, the only person whose authority was respected in the city, did what he could, but after his death in 1525 there was no one to stay the guilds.

In 1528, the emperor made peace with the duke and

recognised him as hereditary lord of Groningen, of Drenthe, and of the Ommelands. This was only a temporary gain for him. A few years later the city and Ommelands together offered Regent Mary their submission and their recognition of the house of Burgundy in the person of Emperor Charles as overlord. The regent immediately sent the Frisian stadtholder, George Schenk of Toutenburg, to Groningen. On June 7, 1536, he received homage for Emperor Charles as duke of Brabant, count of Holland, lord of Friesland and Overyssel. As a recompense for her submission the city was allowed to retain possession of Selwerd, the Goorecht, and the Oldambt, which regions she had held for more than a century either by purchase or by consent of the inhabitants. Schenk had some trouble in enticing the Guelders troops from their fortresses, but he finally succeeded in reducing Appingadam, which had been for years a curse to its neighbourhood. As a reward for his services, Wedde and the Westerwolde were given to the lord of Toutenburg.

In this conquest there was no mention of Utrecht's claim to Groningen by virtue of five centuries' possession, but this was of little importance, as the Sticht, too, had passed into Burgundian hands.

Under Frederick of Baden, who was bishop up to 1516, the independence of the Sticht was merely nominal. After 1510 the episcopal territory had suffered as much as the lands of the contending princes. The Guelders troops had seized Genemuiden and made it the base for raids on the country. The Overyssel cities tried to defend themselves as well as they could, and the Guelders duke forced the Estates of the Lower Sticht to declare neutrality. The bishop, thus deprived of the support of his people, turned to Burgundy for aid, and the Burgundian troops promptly appeared under the command of Floris van Buren to subdue Overyssel to its episcopal

sovereign. Thus both portions of the Sticht were involved in the Guelders troubles and remained so for years. In the Lower Sticht, the duke of Guelders had far more authority than the bishop, who, with Holland's aid, barely held on to his castle of Wijk near Duurstede. Loving good cheer better than war and turmoil, the poor prince of the church was quite unequal to grappling with the problems of his office, and even entertained serious thoughts of handing over his see to a French or English or Burgundian prelate in consideration of a life pension. Shortly before his death he was persuaded by Emperor Maximilian and the government at Brussels to indicate as his successor Admiral Philip of Burgundy, bastard brother of Bishop David, a warrior who had known little of church and whose life had been far from clean. There was keen disapproval in the Sticht, but papal consent was obtained at great expense, and King Charles of Spain promised the new bishop his protection. Little good was expected from this appointment, but Philip immediately made comprehensive plans for reform in the spirit of Erasmus, with whom he sympathised. On a journey to Rome as Maximilian's ambassador, he learned something of the state of affairs at the curia and showed some inclination to follow Luther. But he soon allowed himself to be persuaded to favour the other side, and forgot his interest in ecclesiastical matters in merrymaking at his castle at Wijk near Duurstede, where he collected a circle of artists and savants in imitation of what he had seen in Italy.

The political cares of the Sticht troubled him as little as the spiritual. The troubles continued, and Charles of Guelders used any chance quarrel, as that between Kampen and Zwolle about the toll on the Yssel, to interfere in Overyssel affairs. At the end of 1522, after a defeat of the Burgundian troops, the territories of the Upper Sticht submitted to Charles of Guelders and promised to

recognise no sovereign not at peace with the duke. Charles received homage at Drenthe and appointed his commander, Berend van Hackfort, as stadtholder. He could not persuade the Overysselers to acknowledge him in full as overlord, and even in the Upper Sticht there were Burgundian and Guelders parties in bitter hostility to each other. The Burgundian conquest of Friesland had its effect here too, and the Guelders party lost ground.

In April, 1524, Bishop Philip of Burgundy died. This was the signal for many intrigues about the vacant see. The duke of Guelders tried to obtain the election of a member of the Brunswick family or of his cousin, Francis of Lorraine. There was a Burgundian candidate, too, but the chapter passed over both and chose the candidate of the city, Henry of Bavaria, brother of the elector palatine, recommended by the archbishop of Cologne. The bishop was neutral, but he was also insignificant and quite incapable of keeping the peace. A peace was made indeed with Guelders (1524), Duke Charles receiving Drenthe, Coevorden, Diepenheim, and a pecuniary compensation, in return for which he ceded Genemuiden and Enschedé, besides the castles Lage and Rechteren, while the Upper Sticht was left practically in his hands, but Charles was not contented, and less so when the bishop paid the indemnities and regained possession of the mortgaged places.

The payment of the indemnity caused much trouble in both parts of the Sticht. In 1526, serious disorders occurred in the city of Utrecht in which the guilds played an important part. The clergy and the nobles, secretly egged on by the duke of Guelders, were leagued against the commonalty and the guilds, while the bishop counted for nothing.

Affairs became unendurable. The bishopric threatened to fall in twain, and the land was sadly harassed. Finally

Henry had no other resource than to apply to Burgundy for aid. On November 15, 1527, he made a treaty with Margaret, regent for her imperial brother, wherein she promised to help regain the places taken by Guelders in consideration of the bishop's resigning his temporal power to the emperor until the cost of the expedition was defrayed.

In the following year, March 21, 1528, Overyssel paid homage to the emperor as overlord. The stadtholder of Friesland, George Schenk of Toutenburg, took the government there in behalf of the emperor. His first duty was to win back the territory held by Charles of Guelders, and this he speedily accomplished with an army of seventeen thousand men. He won city after city, but meanwhile Martin van Rossem made a brilliant raid on the Hague and plundered and almost destroyed the city. The booty brought back to Utrecht was rich indeed.

This brilliant feat sent a shudder through Holland, and the people were roused to the necessity of putting an end to the disturbances in the Sticht. The army under Floris of Buren was reinforced, and he invaded the Veluwe and threatened Charles's capital. The position of the duke of Guelders became very precarious, and no one quite ventured to replace the bishop deposed under Guelders influence. Utrecht, disappointed in her expectations of Guelders help, was in a state of siege. The Guelders soldiery in the city began to mutiny and could scarcely be kept in check. It was discovered, too, that Duke Charles had told his men that if they could not hold the city they might desert it after setting fire to it and plundering the inhabitants. Charles's position became desperate, and that of Utrecht no less so, when suddenly came the tidings that the city had been surprised by the Burgundians on June 30th.

With this event the Lower Sticht was lost to Guelders. As the negotiations between the emperor and France

which terminated in the peace of Cambrai (1529) advanced, the duke lost French support, and finally declared that he too was ready to make overtures. The result was the peace of Gorkum (October 3, 1528), in which Charles of Guelders renounced his alliance with France and submitted to the emperor in consideration of a pension of sixteen thousand guilders. In regard to his territories, it was stipulated that the duke should retain his hereditary possessions, but if he died without legitimate male heirs, Guelders and Zutphen should lapse to the emperor as duke of Brabant. Duke Charles withdrew from Utrecht, but retained a life possession of Groningen, together with the Ommelands, Coevorden, and Drenthe.

Thus the Lower Sticht and Overyssel fell into the emperor's hands. Eight years later the remaining portions of the ancient Sticht-Utrecht, Groningen, and Drenthe, came under his sovereignty. From that period the bishop of Utrecht was what he had been before the tenth century, simply a church ruler. His territory was taken possession of by the Burgundian powers, and the papal power which in the thirteenth century had come between the two in similar circumstances, was so weakened that it was forced to accept the fact, especially as this " robber of church property " was no less a person than the emperor himself. The futile protests of the Utrecht chapter were simply ignored, and the bishop avenged himself, after the victory of his allies, in a sanguinary manner on the foes who had embittered his life. The stadtholder of Holland, the lord of Hoogstraaten, was given the stadtholdership in the Lower Sticht, thus completely separated from the Upper Sticht, which was added to Friesland. On October 21, 1528, Emperor Charles, count of Holland and duke of Brabant, was accepted as lord by the Estates of Utrecht.

The years of peace enjoyed by Guelders after the treaty of Gorkum were used by Duke Charles to strengthen his

authority in his own duchy, which had been weakened by the long years of warfare. Free-lance captains, like van Wisch and van Batenburg, were forced to submit to ducal authority. But the restless duke could not keep quiet long. He was soon at war again with Count Enno of East Friesland and tried to drive him from his countship; while he allied himself with Lord Balthasar of Esens, one of the still independent East Frisian nobles who received his tiny territory from him in fief, and shortly there began an interchange of raids in the north. The old leaders, Meindert van den Ham, Martin van Rossem, and Berend van Hackfort, were again in evidence. Peace was not made in this region finally until 1534, when Charles found himself in straits, as the Groningers refused to aid him. The East Frisian count remained master in his own realm.

At the same time the ancient quarrel with Burgundy was revived. The Gorkum treaty had been a hard pill for Charles of Guelders, and at the first opportunity he was ready to make overtures toward his old ally, King Francis I. A secret treaty was made (October, 1534), in which the duke placed his states under French protection, received a pension from France, and promised to leave all his rights to King Francis, if he died without children. Within three years the duke was to obtain the approval of his three capital cities to this convention. Thus Charles V.'s plan of uniting these provinces with his Netherland territory was to be thwarted, and the ancient enemy of the Burgundian race rejoiced at the clever plot that long remained a secret. The treacherous Guelders prince also plotted with other enemies of the emperor, with the Protestant German princes, and with King Christian III. of Denmark, watching for a favourable opportunity to injure his old adversary. "The gentleman of Guelders begins to show his horns" wrote the regent. But circumstances were unfavourable, and nego-

tiations were opened at Grave with the regent and the sult was a new peace (December, 1536). Groningerland and Drenthe were renounced for a large sum and delivered to the emperor. The stipulations of the Gorkum treaty were maintained, and the duke apparently relinquished his hostile purposes. Apparently—but really Charles nursed his wrath in secret. He was continually on the watch to fall upon Holland, continually was he in correspondence with France and with the disaffected German princes. Finally, in October, 1537, at a diet of his Estates, he declared his intention of recognising the French king as his heir. "He would rather see his land swamped than in Burgundian hands." The diet refused to acquiesce. But the duke remained steadfast. Many of the cities were against him, and a civil war seemed imminent. The distrust between prince and subjects steadily increased. Cities and a number of nobles applied for aid to the duke of Cleves and Jülich,—who had some claim to the succession in Guelders,—and finally Duke Charles was forced to yield his point.

The duke of Cleves was nothing loath to take part in Guelders affairs and to urge his own claims. Duke Charles, on the other hand, now that the French scheme had failed, preferred the duke of Lorraine or one of his sons, the children of his sister, as successor, and tried to attain his end by a marriage of one of the Lorrainers with a member of the Cleves family. Finally (January 27, 1538), William, eldest son of the duke of Cleves, a youth of twenty-two, was appointed his heir, and received homage in February. This last measure was greatly to the annoyance of Duke Charles. He was no longer master in his own land and was especially wrathy at the opposition of Nimwegen in secret alliance with the Jülichers. He survived but a few months, dying at Arnhem on June 30, 1538, where the church of St. Eusebius shelters the tomb of this last duke of Guelders from

the house of Egmont, the rough and cunning but valiant and undaunted foe of the Burgundian dynasty, of the dynasty which had laid snares for his father and grandfather and had tried to deprive him of his inheritance. He left no legitimate children, but several bastards.

The blunt figure of Duke Charles was never popular either at home or abroad. His double-faced character, his reckless warrior life, gave him a look of the famous Italian banditti. It was a tragic rôle that he played, and he excited sympathy in so far as he was the champion of the independence of the northern Netherlands against the ever-growing encroachments of the Burgundian princes. To be sure he lacked the attractive personality that made Jacqueline of Bavaria a heroine in similar circumstances. He did not win affection from contemporaries, nor has posterity admired him, and he died in the loneliness in which he had lived, feared by many and loved by few.

The elevation of the young Duke William was naturally not approved by the Burgundian government, who considered the rights of the house of Jülich less well founded than those of Egmont. The emperor protested against the affair, but the Jülichers urged the ancient proclamation of Sigismund in favour of the Jülich claims over those of the Egmont family. And this was not the only point that rendered William's accession highly important for the emperor. The old duke of Jülich died in February, 1539, and then his son became sovereign over a considerable territory. The territories of Jülich and Berg were already united from the extinction of the old house of Jülich. After 1521 the united duchies of Cleves and Mark had been added to this by inheritance. By the acquisition of Guelders, Duke William would have been one of the most influential of the imperial princes. His close relations to France, the old protector of Guelders independence; to England, whose king, Henry VIII., in the summer of the same year proposed to his sister, Anne

of Cleves, for political reasons; to Saxony, whose elector, the head of the Schmalkalden league, was married to Sibyl of Cleves; in short, to the Protestant princes in general, the doughty foes of the emperor in the German empire,—all this made the position of the young prince far from insignificant in European politics. There were opportunities for William of Jülich, of Guelders, of Cleves, of Berg, and Mark to be the centre of a great anti-imperial coalition and, considering the known Protestant leanings of the English king and the young duke's own double dealing in the burning question of Protestantism in Germany, this might be fraught with danger both for the emperor and for Catholicism.

And the young prince had no thought of renouncing his claims while Guelders evinced every readiness to renew the struggle with Burgundy under these favourable circumstances. It seemed as though the Guelders succession would occasion a universal European war. If William joined the league of Schmalkalden there could be no question of peace. A couple of years passed in negotiations. The emperor did not quite venture to attack Guelders. Duke William was satisfied with the peaceful possession of his realm and also did not wish to risk anything. The Protestant princes let precious time slip by in fruitless parleys and left France in the lurch when the great war began in 1542.

Duke William had been in communication with France from 1539 and took a zealous part in the open hostilities. The moment for action seemed to have arrived. The French king had not only formed a close covenant with him but encouraged him to hope for an alliance with Jeanne, the heiress of Navarre. Denmark, too, joined them against the emperor, while on the other hand the whimsical Henry VIII., whose marriage with Anne of Cleves was of short duration, remained wholly outside the affair. Up to this time emperor and duke had each

stated their cases in endless briefs directed to the diets and scattered throughout Europe, in which the Frisian jurist, Viglius van Aytta van Zwichem, who eloquently pleaded the emperor's claims, won great reputation but did not gain his point. The issue had to be decided by arms.

In conjunction with an attack of the French on Luxemburg and Hainaut, old Martin van Rossem invaded Brabant with a body of knights, crossed to Luxemburg, burning and plundering as he went. Other Guelders troops threatened the Holland borders, while Guelders and Danish pirates made the coast dangerous. The days of Charles of Guelders seemed returned, and great was the dread of a renewal of the Guelders raids upon Holland and Utrecht. But the young prince of Orange, René of Nassau, stadtholder of the provinces, took vigorous measures of resistance and succeeded in obtaining a considerable sum from the States, which he used for a brilliant campaign on Jülich territory.

Similar scenes were repeated in the spring of 1543. The French conquered various places in Hainaut and Luxemburg. Martin van Rossem took possession of Amersfoort and made raids on the open country of Brabant. The emperor was fully aware of the danger. The princes of the league of Schmalkalden, too, began to show an inclination to support William, and the emperor was forced to speedy action.

Putting aside all other plans, in the summer of 1543 he gathered a great army of thirty-six thousand men, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, and in August he took the field in person. The German princes did not venture to offer a hand to their ally. Even Saxony was satisfied with a petition for mercy. The emperor's brilliant army won an easy victory. Düren, Jülich, Roermond, and Erkelens yielded without a blow. Venloo offered some resistance. The terrified young duke, left in the lurch

by his French ally, less valiant than his namesake of a century and a half previous, went on foot to the emperor in his camp before Venloo and made the treaty of Venloo on September 7th. He renounced his claims to Guelders and Zutphen and his alliances with the emperor's enemies. He was lucky in retaining Jülich and his remaining duchies, while only Sittard and Heinsberg remained in the emperor's power. He promised also to renounce his Protestant sympathies. The prince of Orange, appointed to the stadtholdership in Guelders, too, received in September the homage of the emperor's new subjects.

Thus the ambitious dream of the Jülich princes came to nothing, and Guelders, the last of the rebellious north Netherland provinces, was finally won for the Burgundian dynasty. In the spring of 1544, at the diet of Speyer, the empire was officially informed of the fact, and no protest was made.

In the history of the decline of the independence of these northern provinces there were certainly moments which presaged a tragic development. The desperate struggle of Charles of Guelders and the end of Frisian liberty are events which seem to promise dramatic incidents, a struggle between the love of freedom and tyranny, between the rights of the weak and the brutal power of wrong. But this picture disappears if the sources are examined closely. There is no question of a heroic struggle for freedom either in Guelders, Friesland, or the Sticht. In Guelders there was a question of the maintenance of the despotic sovereignty of a little dynasty; in Friesland, of the unhindered continuation of a century-long struggle; in the Sticht, of the endurance of a struggle between a weak ecclesiastical prince and his subjects divided into two, three, yes, four, opposing parties. Charles of Guelders was not the valiant champion of his

people's independence but the embittered heir of a wretched hatred between two royal families. The "Guelderised" Frisians were not the champions of popular liberty in distress, but the adherents of a party which called on strangers for aid, who foresaw their own destruction in the victory of the Burgundian foreigner simply because the Burgundian supported the opposite party and was called in by them. The protesting chapters of the Sticht and the city of Utrecht opposed annexation, not from patriotic affection but rather from fear of losing their influence in the affairs of the Lower Sticht and from petty hatred of their neighbours. And for Guelders, Friesland, and the Sticht the victory of the Burgundian policy was a benefit and soon recognised as such by the population of these territories, if not theoretically, certainly practically.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELATIONS OF LIEGE TO BURGUNDY

ONLY one province in the Netherlands escaped the universal fate of inclusion in the territories under the authority of the Burgundian dynasty. Liege did not owe her escape to any advantage of situation. The conditions were, indeed, against it. The strong strategic position of the Liege cities on the Meuse and the Sambre in relation to France naturally made the Burgundian government desirous of reducing this province to their control. The bishopric owed the continuance of its independence to the adroit policy of its two ecclesiastic princes, Erard de la Mark and Gerard van Groesbeek.

In the fifteenth century the Liege bishops were the creatures of the Burgundian princes. The successor of John of Bavaria,—passing over the brief incumbency of John of Walenrode,—John of Heinsberg (1419–1455), had no means of suppressing his unruly subjects except by aid from Philip of Burgundy, his powerful neighbour, whose territories surrounded his on all sides. By means of a new system of government, he had tried to curb the power of the guilds in his capital, and finally succeeded in doing so, in spite of repeated opposition, by means of the Burgundian. In this way he fell into the power of Burgundy and actually found himself forced, in 1455, to yield the bishopric to a member of the Burgundian family, the young nephew of Philip, Louis of Bourbon.

Thus Liege, as well as Utrecht, was ruled by a Burgundian prelate, and the first step was taken towards annexation. The curia, in many respects dependent on Burgundy, put no difficulties in the way and favoured the extension of the authority of the new prince of the church in no slight measure by releasing him from obligations to consult his Estates. The bishop showed a true Burgundian contempt for popular rights and came into direct collision with the most cherished privileges of the Liege people, especially with the institution of the tribunal of XXII., the palladium of Liege liberties that had still obtained under Heinsberg. A revolt finally took place. Under the leadership of Raes van Heers and Baré Sullet de Chokier, the bishop was deposed and a margrave of Baden was put in his place as *mambour* at the instance of the French king, who had secretly proffered aid (1465).

With this opposition to the Burgundian bishop and the alliance with France there began for Liege the fatal period of the Burgundian wars. The count of Nassau speedily defeated the Liegeois at Montenaeken and forced them to recognise Duke Philip as hereditary *mambour* of the bishopric. With this recognition Liege independence ceased for a time. All future attempts, backed and instigated by France, to throw off the Burgundian yoke were suppressed in a frightful manner. Dinant, St. Trond, Tongres, and finally Liege itself were forced to yield. The "Perron" of Liege, the symbol of Liege liberties,—a column with a fir-apple on it,—was carried to Bruges as a token of the humiliation of Liege by Charles the Bold, who punished a new revolt in the following year by a devastation of the city just as he had formerly punished Dinant. From that time, Liege was submissive until the battle of Nancy brought release from the Burgundian domination which had ignored the bishop and ruled the territory as a conquest.

Duchess Mary had at once reinstated her cousin in his episcopal rights and returned the Liege "Perron." And the Liege people obtained more than that,—their old government, their privileges, their tribunal of XXII. in full force. William de la Mark-Aremberg, the savage "Boar of the Ardennes," who had waged war on the bishop, now became friendly. Louis appointed him captain of his bodyguard, *mambour* of Liege, and commander of his strongest castle.

It was soon evident that this friendship was but a mockery and that no trust could be placed on this unruly lord, this friend of the crafty French king. He was soon at odds with the bishop and the majority of the nobles of Liege. He made new plots with Louis XI., was banished, and waged a terrible guerrilla warfare in the Ardennes, where Sedan and Bouillon were his headquarters. Finally he made a raid on Liege, attacked and slew the bishop who had opposed him. La Mark's plan to place one of his relatives in the see failed. With the pope's consent the canons appointed John of Horne as bishop, much to the disgust of La Mark.

A period of disturbance began which lasted until 1492. In 1485 the "Boar of the Ardennes" was treacherously attacked at Maestricht, slain and beheaded at the command of Maximilian and with the bishop's consent. La Mark's brothers immediately began vigorous opposition to episcopal authority. They harassed the territory of Liege for years and threatened to involve it in the Franco-Burgundian hostilities. Liege seemed destined to be the bridge over which the opposing armies were to pass, and the vicinity of anti-Burgundian Guelders was, in this respect, a reason the more for France to attempt to maintain her former amicable relations with the bishopric. The territories of the La Marks, Sedan and Bouillon, together with Liege, were exceedingly valuable to the French king.

Luckily for the independence of the bishopric the people of Liege clearly understood the dangers of their geographical position, and in 1492 determined to maintain neutrality between the two parties militant. Both France and Burgundy approved this resolution. Thus the Liege neutrality—that was the phrase employed—which played a part in the Franco-Burgundian wars of the sixteenth century was already prepared and was the foundation of the returning prosperity of the land. It was the only way by which Liege could have extricated herself from the wretched condition into which she had fallen as a result of the Burgundian devastations and the raids of the La Marks. After the death of John of Horne, Erard de la Mark was made bishop, and this assured peace for a time (1506–1538).

The new prelate was inclined to maintain the neutrality of his realm in spite of Maximilian's opposition to him. The regent had had his own candidate for the vacant see, but finally accepted Erard. The two succeeding regents in the Netherlands, Margaret and Mary, followed the accepted policy and fostered the idea of Liege's neutrality, and were willing to ignore certain signs of preference for France. In 1518 the scale was turned. Francis I. embittered the La Marks by preventing Erard from receiving a cardinal's hat, and the bishop made a defensive alliance with the Burgundian government, in spite of the great popular distaste to the measure. He succeeded in persuading the people to this step, though he could not have done so had the Liegeois known of the secret treaty signed at St. Trond on April 27, 1518, in which the La Marks, in consideration of a large sum of money and other privileges, pledged themselves to leave all their fortresses to the house of Burgundy in case of the extinction of their own family. Moreover, the bishop pledged himself to leave his see in the hands of a successor who should be agreeable to Charles V. or his heir, and all his command-

ers in the fortresses were bound by oath to deliver their posts after his death to the lord of Sedan or to some prince appointed by Charles V. and the Estates of Liege.

Thus the neutrality gave place to a closer bond with the Netherlands which did not, however, occasion an open rupture with France. Robert of Sedan, a grand-nephew of the " Wild Boar " and his true kin, espoused the French cause, but Erard remained true to his treaty and was a welcome guest at the Brussels court, where his advice was as valuable as it had formerly been in Paris. Through Charles, he obtained the coveted cardinalship which he had once lost through Francis, besides the revenues from the Spanish archbishopric Valencia, and other rich estates. In accordance with the secret treaty he accepted as coadjutor Charles's subject, Cornelis van Bergen, lord of Zevenbergen, a choice finally approved by the pope, but which was not, indeed, by Cornelis himself. He had little taste for the office and begged both the emperor and the regent to relieve him, although he was enjoying a rich income from ecclesiastical property. When Erard died (1538), he had to be actually forced into assuming the episcopal duties. This unwilling bishop filled the see for six years on the condition that he should be relieved as soon as possible from the task that banished him from the court at Brussels, where he liked the peaceful and social life. There were plenty who lusted for the rich gift. Among the candidates was Anthony Perrenot, lord of Granvelle. His chances seemed good, but he was finally pushed aside by George of Austria, bishop of Brixen in the Tyrol, a bastard son of Maximilian. It is plain that under these successors of Erard de la Mark the bishopric was virtually in the hands of the government at Brussels and that the French sympathies of the Liege population were set aside. The efforts of envoys from Guelders and from France were unavailing to arouse the Liegeois to rebellion against the Burgundian

domination in the bishopric. The advantages of the alleged neutrality were too great to be given up for the uncertain results of a conflict with Burgundy, in spite of the attraction of the offers from Guelders and from France. There was a moment of hesitation in 1542, but the Estates were speedily won over by the clever diplomacy of the regent Mary. The alliance of 1518 was preserved, although a reversion to the former neutrality policy was tempting. Liege thus remained between hammer and anvil, as the chancellor of Brabant justly remarked, a position very annoying to the La Marks with their French sympathies. In 1543 a conspiracy to deliver over Liege to the French was severely punished. The chief members of the families compromised had to suffer and their influence was destroyed. At the beginning of the following century the La Marks were still dominant at Sedan, while the Liege branch was worthily represented by William of Lummen, or Lumey, the famous water beggar, who remained true to the traditions of his wild and rebellious race.

The guardianship of the Brussels government over the bishopric (*tutelle intelligente et autoritaire*), wielded by Mary of Hungary with a firm hand, involved Liege from time to time in the devastation wrought by the French troops on the borders of the Netherland provinces, devastations that the fortresses of Marienburg, Philippeville, and Charlemont were powerless to stay. The peace of Château-Cambresis was of great importance to Liege, and Robert of Bergen, who had just succeeded George of Austria, hastened to renew the treaty of 1518 to show Philip II. his good will. His successor, Gerard of Groesbeek (1564), never ventured to manifest the slightest opposition to the monarchy, as he hoped to preserve the little independence still enjoyed by the bishopric.

Liege remained free in name, and the Burgundian

government, perfectly well aware of the obstinacy of the anti-Burgundian sentiment among the people, refrained from exciting undue opposition. Charles V. had said, and his successors persisted in the sentiment, "*trop mieux les aimait avoir ses bons voisins et amis que ses propres sujets.*" There were occasional quarrels about tolls and boundary rights, jurisdiction in border places, especially about mutual rights in Maestricht; thus, in short, there was too much on both sides which pleaded for the maintenance of neutrality, to put an end to it either by the annexation on the one or a hostile attitude on the other side. As long as Liege followed the bidding of the Brussels government no change was to be expected.

CHAPTER IX

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BURGUNDIAN GOVERNMENT

THE administration of the Burgundian princes was above all important to the Netherland provinces from the fact that they established a central government. They subordinated all the local forms of government existing in the various provinces, to a central power that they created from nothing and then strengthened into a vigorous machine, instead of trying to work the incongruous and varying provincial governments as a whole.

The first measures of organisation in the newly annexed provinces were taken with the special aim of regulating the relation between the provincial and central governments. The Burgundian princes fulfilled this task very skilfully. They permitted the old order to remain in existence and did not disturb the ancient institutions which their new subjects had enjoyed for centuries and which had developed very slowly. At the beginning they were contented with creating colleges necessary to further the coöperation between the various portions of their realm, and only introduced novelties when necessary.

Still this apparent respect for the existing order was only a measure demanded by circumstances. In reality the purpose of the Burgundian princes was entirely antagonistic to much of the old order that they found in the Netherland provinces. They worked steadily to accom-

plish this purpose, their efforts being more or less vigorous but never relinquished.

They wanted to follow the example of their great ancestor of the race of Capet, the French king, Philip IV., the creator of the later French kingdom. What had happened after the close of the thirteenth century in France, and had also come to pass in the kingdom of Burgundy, influenced Philip the Bold and his successors in the organisation of the newly acquired Netherland provinces. Just as Philip IV. attained his end by means of his skilled jurists, his *légistes*, so, too, it was the Burgundian jurists, the eminent Burgundian officials of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who rendered the greatest service in the organisation of the Burgundian government in the Netherlands. The jurists of the Bologna school of the twelfth century based their learning on the principles of the ancient Roman imperial law codified by Justinian in the sixth century. From Bologna as a centre the study of Roman law spread to the French universities at Montpellier, Angers, Paris, and Orleans, and at these, too, studied Netherland jurists of the fourteenth century, —Philip of Leyden, for example. The theory of the absolute sovereign power became the common property of the western European jurists and statesmen and was grafted on the old tree of Germanic law. Under Philip IV. of France the theory was dominant, and he shaped a princely despotism that ill comported with ancient popular liberty, or what had been developed from it.

This despotism, as it ruled through the French parliaments and the French chancery, supported by an army of distinguished officials, was what the Burgundian princes wished to introduce in the Netherlands as far as was compatible with the popular liberty which had had an opportunity to develop there under the lax hand of the fourteenth-century rulers. As far as they were able, to be sure, they disregarded popular liberty to the

advantage of the rulers. The university of Louvain was crowded with students during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There, and at Dôle in Burgundy, established at the same time, a number of jurists were educated who spent a portion of their student life in the French universities and loyally supported the princes in the reorganisation of the government in the Netherlands. Under Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, and later under Philip the Fair and Charles V., there was formed in the Netherlands a class of officials educated in the law, corresponding to the French *noblesse de robe*, who played rôles of increasing importance: Philip Wielant, Joost de Damhoudere, Carondelet, Viglius, Perrenot, Hopper, Bont, Groesbeek, Van der Goes, Mulart, Sasbout,—well-known names out of a long list which could be mentioned in every province. These officials were the prime counsellors of the Burgundian princes in the introduction of the new institutions of monarchical absolutism. Absolute authority slowly replaced feudal authority, although much of the old feudality lingered in the forms in which the absolutism of the princes was clothed. There is a great difference between the sovereignty wielded by rulers like Floris V. and Reinald II., Louis de Male and Wenzel of Brabant, and that of the Burgundians like Charles the Bold and Charles V.

Floris, Louis, Wenzel, and Reinald were still counts and dukes of feudal times who as a matter of fact gave little heed to the suzerainty of the German and French feudal lords, but in theory at least still acknowledged it. They were not sovereigns proper but the first among peers, *primi inter pares*.

On the other hand, the Burgundian princes considered themselves as kings by the grace of God, in accordance with the ideas promulgated by the study of Roman law. They claimed a position such as the Roman emperors had enjoyed—that of absolute monarchs. And, after the

beginning of the sixteenth century, the union of the prerogatives of the Spanish king and of the German emperor with those of the Netherland princes contributed to the propagation of this notion.

Nevertheless there was an important difference of opinion between the new theory of sovereign power and the old institutions—a difference that gave rise to a long strife between the princes reaching after absolutism and the subjects devoted to these same ancient institutions. An examination of the government in the Burgundian period confirms the impression of the innate opposition between the tendency of the new government and that of the old customs with which this new government had to reckon.

At the head of the government at the time of the Burgundian princes proper, whose authority did not cover wider ground than that of Burgundy and the Netherlands and who lived ordinarily at Brussels, stood the prince himself. In the last years of the reign of Philip the Good, after 1454, the government was mainly left in the hands of his son Charles when the young prince became stadtholder-general in the lands of "*herwaarts*," a dignity which the count of Charolais did not always fulfil to his father's liking.

The situation changed entirely when the princes only remained for short periods in the provinces and thus could not administer the government personally. Regular governors, or stadtholders-general, then became necessary.

Such a stadtholder-general was Duke Albert of Saxony (1489–1494) in behalf of the absentee regent, the Roman king, Maximilian. When Philip the Fair went to Spain in 1501, he appointed Count Engelbert of Nassau, a devoted adherent of the dynasty, as his lieutenant. When he made his second journey in 1506, he raised his influen-

tial favourite, William of Croy, lord of Chièvres, to the same dignity. In Maximilian's second regency Chièvres was replaced by the emperor's daughter, Margaret of Austria, dowager duchess of Savoy (1507–1530), whose government was admirable during the difficult years of the second regency. When Charles, her young nephew, who was under the influence of William of Croy during the first part of his reign, succeeded, she lost her office and was replaced by her nephew's old friend, but by 1518 we find her again regent. After the death of the favourite in 1520 she regained her former influence in the administration of the Netherlands, which she then continued to govern well until the day of her death, as well as in the general policy of the Burgundian monarchy.

Charles's sister, Mary of Hungary, was equally successful during her twenty-four years' administration as regent of the Netherlands (1531–1555). The tradition was thus established that there should always be a fixed representative of the sovereign, preferably a member of the royal family, even if the sovereign were not absent from the Netherlands. In a measure, Philip II. broke this tradition by the appointment of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy (1555–1559), however, the birth of this new governor seemed high enough to place him above the Netherland nobles. But his rule lacked vigour; he let the nobles go their own gait too much, and the need of an energetic hand became evident.

His successor, Margaret of Parma, was, to be sure, of illegitimate birth, but her brilliant marriage with the duke of Parma cleared her name in a measure from the stain. She succeeded, with the aid of the statesman Granvelle, in establishing a vigorous government, necessary after the weak administration of the duke of Savoy. The governor, or regent, was endowed with all the rights of sovereign power and only responsible to the will of the prince himself, while pledged to govern in conjunction

with the officers appointed by the sovereign. He or she might assemble the knights of the Fleece and the general and provincial Estates; was head of the army, of the police and justice; made appointments; exerted the right of pardon; signed all documents,—in behalf of the king,—and had authority in general over all that could militate for the maintenance of sovereign authority and for the public weal.

Like the French kings, the duke of Burgundy had a privy council, consisting of lords and trusted officials, by whom the finances, military affairs, and justice were administered. In 1446, a so-called *Great Council* was developed from the privy council, whose function was to administer finances and jurisprudence, and to govern the land in the absence of the prince. This council was under the direction of the chief chancellor of Burgundy. It remained in existence under Philip and was intrusted with the administration of public affairs in general, so that the privy council was lost for the most part in this great council. A reorganisation of this latter was the court established in 1454, and moved to Mechlin in the same year, expressly for lawsuits.

In 1473, Charles the Bold made an important innovation. He retained the great council for national affairs in general, but gave the supervision of the finances to the newly erected chamber of accounts (*Rekenkamer*), and intrusted the administration of justice, which he had greatly at heart, to the great council, or parliament, of Mechlin, a court of appeal for the provincial courts of the Burgundian territories, arranged after the model of the French parliaments. Like Philip, by the establishment of his *cour* Charles intended by this institution to destroy the old judicial authority of the parliament of Paris in Flanders and Artois, and in so doing to destroy the last remnant of French sovereignty—reasons why Charles VII. and Louis XI. of France had opposed the measure.

This reformation, well meant as it was, was received by the subjects with opposition. They resented the introduction of a body that attacked the independence of the provincial jurisdiction, and the establishment of a general chamber of accounts. The privy council remained in existence, but exerted little influence before 1504.

The parliament of Mechlin was, indeed, the first government institution that fell after the battle of Nancy, and the great council, reformed and limited in its scope in relation to the rights of the separate provinces, was again intrusted with the general government under the duchess. The beheading of the chancellor of the Mechlin council, Hugonet, was a frightful expression of popular hatred for the "foreign parliament." But Philip the Fair ventured to restore it in 1504 with the same title of great council, although it had not the same extensive jurisdiction which Charles the Bold had instituted. In October, 1531, Charles V. gave a new "instruction" to this great council, but was unable to force its universal acceptance in the Netherlands. Flanders, Artois, Namur, Luxemburg, and Zealand, in the meanwhile, submitted in some respects to the decrees of the great council—except in appeal of civil cases which had been tried in the provincial courts; but the other provinces, especially Brabant, held off. Besides these cases of appeal, the great council, according to the instructions of 1531, was the court of first instance in all suits between knights of the Fleece, ambassadors, court officials, provincial governors, members of the state colleges, and foreign merchants, and for the important cases respecting feudal rights, in so far as these did not come under the provincial courts.

A point of great importance for the provinces was the improvement in their finances, the good administration of their revenues and expenditures. Already in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries measures were taken

in various provinces on the plan adopted in France; in Holland in the time of William III., in the Sticht at the time of John of Arkel and Frederick of Blankenheim, and in Guelders under Reinald III.

A vigorous measure for the improvement of the finances were the *Chambres des Comptes* (chambers of accounts or finance), modelled after those in France, established by Louis the Pious and Philip the Fair. These had been gradually developed from the beginning of the fourteenth century. The plan of the Burgundian institutions was thus imitated from those of France, the fatherland of the dukes.

Immediately after the acquisition of Flanders in 1385, a chamber of accounts was established at Lille by Philip the Bold like those at Dijon and Paris, nay, even by French officials invited from there. This chamber included a court of appeal that, twenty years later, was separated from it. It had jurisdiction over Hainaut and Namur. A similar chamber was established by Anthony of Burgundy in Brabant, one at the Hague in 1446 for Holland and Zealand by Philip the Good. In 1463, the chamber of Brabant was also declared valid for Luxemburg and Chiny. Charles the Bold, the energetic organiser, the *worker*, as one of the chroniclers called him, later consolidated the two chambers into one and placed it at Mechlin. This was to serve for all his Netherland provinces and proved a measure that aroused much discontent. The various provinces were especially jealous of their financial rights. Thus it was very natural that immediately after his death the scheme of centralisation was abandoned, and the old chambers at the Hague, at Lille, and at Brussels restored. The advantage of a careful supervision of the finances had been, however, too well realised for the institution to be discarded entirely. Philip the Fair and his successors made various attempts to reduce the chambers to one, but were forced to yield

to the violent opposition of the Estates of the various provinces. These chambers consisted of several masters of accounts (*maitres des comptes*), or treasurers, assisted by an auditor and several clerks. Their first duty was to audit the accounts of officials having to do with finance, then they supervised the revenue accruing from the tributes and domains, and finally they attended to the administration of the government in these two respects, under the supervision of the high colleges of state mentioned above.

Other measures, too, taken in the various provinces, go to show how difficult the financial problem was for the princes. The many ordinances in this regard for Holland, especially a very important and comprehensive resolution by which Philip the Fair commanded (May 6, 1495) a reorganisation of Holland finances and domains, deserve consideration in this particular. The confused condition into which the Holland government fell after the death of Charles the Bold made a complete reform essential and a marked improvement was effected.

The Guelders and the French wars, in the days of the regent Margaret of Savoy made such heavy demands on the Netherland finances; the regulation of numerous universal and partial tributes, or so-called voluntary contributions (*beden*), to be furnished by the provinces collectively and individually, was so complicated and took so much time, that neither the sovereign's council nor the chambers of accounts were capable of accomplishing the tasks. The council of finance (1517), often desired by the Burgundian princes and never hitherto established owing to provincial opposition, was therefore designed to solve the difficulties. It was composed of three high nobles and several officials, a treasurer-general, and a receiver-general, with a quota of clerks. It busied itself with the administration of the domains and tributes, with the verification of general outlays in connection with the

chambers of accounts, with the granting of the privilege of raising the excise in the cities. Here were recorded the international treaties, and here the archives of the realm were preserved. In 1545, this council was provided with a new instruction, but its character was unchanged. Still, at the best, all these important measures were insufficient to improve the financial condition of the Netherland government.

It was notorious that the ordinary revenues from the domains, the taxes, etc., were quite inadequate to cover the outlays. Even in the days of provincial independence, when the government was less expensive, the revenues fell short of the expenditure. In nearly all the provinces the tribute (*bede*) had taken a regular place in the royal budget, yes, had really become the first and most important source of revenue, while the domain became more and more insignificant. The luxurious state maintained by the house of Burgundy, the shameless avarice of the Burgundian officials,—a well-known evil, but one difficult to contend with,—the gigantic sums demanded by the wars, the diminished credit of the Burgundian princes—all these circumstances forced the princes to a constant extension of the voluntary contributions.

Already under Philip the Good, we hear of five, six, and ten years' beden, and even so under Charles the Bold. And although at the beginning of the reigns of Philip the Fair and of Charles V. these kinds of tribute, stipulated for a term of several years, again disappear, and those for shorter periods become the rule, we also find that, in addition to the ordinary tribute, extraordinary contributions were also asked for and given. Under Charles V. and Philip II. it happened several times that two or three tributes were running simultaneously.

Still the revenues remained below the expenses. The regents, Margaret of Savoy, Mary of Hungary, and Margaret of Parma, complained unceasingly about the lack of

money. A really accurate list of revenues and expenditures of the government in the days of Charles V. would be very interesting. The shortcomings would be a marked feature, notwithstanding the fact that the people were bowed under their heavy burdens. Then, too, it was the Netherlands which were forced to be the chief source of supply, to meet the requirements of the Spanish policy in Europe. In spite of all reform, the administration of the finances remained the weakest point of the Burgundian government. The task was very difficult. It was almost impossible to create order in the chaos that had existed for centuries in some of the provinces, and the continual demands made on the Netherland treasury rendered a vigorous reorganisation impossible.

The reign of Mary of Hungary is noteworthy in respect to organisation, inasmuch as then occurred the separation of the ancient privy council into the council of state and a new privy council. This was done in accordance with the resolution of October 1, 1531, after the death of the great chancellor, Mercurino Gattinara, one of the most distinguished state officials of Margaret and of Charles V., but at the same time a very troublesome servant. After the death of Chièvres he had borne the main burden of the world-wide imperial policy. His industry was amazing. None of the important transactions of his young master took place without this remarkable man, who wished to have engraved upon his tombstone, "Here lies one who was anxious during his whole life about affairs of state." Next to him Count Henry of Nassau, the son of Engelbert, had great influence on Netherland affairs. Through the reorganisation of the government of the Netherlands on the occasion of the appointment of Queen Mary as regent, a new personality appeared on the scene. The Burgundian Nicholas Perrenot, lord of Granvelle, was, from this time on, the leader of the Netherland government as chancel-

lor of Burgundy, while the title of "great chancellor" disappears.

The new council of state was intrusted with the general direction of the country under the regent. It was composed of four regular members, in addition to whom the knights of the Golden Fleece, the members of the privy council and of the council of finance, of the great council at Mechlin, the governors of the provinces, the bishops, and other persons in high places were to be summoned to give advice, without taking part in the deliberations. The president was Jean Carondelet, archbishop of Palermo, who had presided over Margaret's great council for years.

The new privy council had supervision over justice and police, all affairs touching the sovereign dignity of the prince, and the publication of placards and edicts, but had no authority in the ordinary courts, except in regard to questions between courts which recognised no higher judge. Carondelet was also head of this college, which consisted of ten or twelve judges, some of whom were councillors and others secretaries. The first secretary was called *audencier*.

Besides the institution of these councils and the reorganisation of the great council of Mechlin, October, 1531, was noteworthy for the publication of a mass of resolutions respecting legislation and police, which form, indeed, no connected code but simply a series of modifications desirable for the moment under then existing conditions. Thus there were measures for fixing the prices of provisions, besides regulations about beggary and orphanages, conforming to the ideas of the famous economist, the Spanish Vivès, who lived at Bruges and wrote remarkable treatises about methods of preventing poverty and a noteworthy book, *De Subventione Pauperum* (1525),[1] in which he advocated state care of the poor. Other

[1] See also *Eene Holl. Stad. onder de Bourg-oostenrheerschappij*, p. 351.

regulations were designed to curb the increasing luxury in clothing by forbidding the use of gold and silver cloth and brocade, and limiting the use of velvet and satin. Crimes, such as drunkenness, etc., were also treated of, and comprehensive regulations were made in regard to monopolies and to bankruptcies in the great placard of 1531, when, too, measures were introduced in regard to heresy. A similar placard, or rather conglomeration of placards, was that of 1540, in which there were regulations against usury and about the differences between lay and ecclesiastic judges, and likewise regulations in the interests of minors. There was also a third placard, that of 1545.

Besides these general placards, the government of Charles V. issued a mass of particular edicts which make his reign the most important of the whole Burgundian period. Coinage, dikes, posts, marine and military affairs, were all dealt with; law, commerce, heresy, exploitation of peat-bogs and forests, of wildernesses in general, were all regulated by fixed rules. Thus there sprang into life a mass of sovereign ordinances in the realm of law to be ranked with traditional law, which had changed little in the last centuries, the edict of *lex regia* side by side with the ancient "customs." But the opinions of the subjects were not disregarded, and the tradition was observed that no sovereign proclamation could conflict with the ancient customs or remove them, unless the Estates of the provinces in question gave their consent.

It is easy to see how, with a struggle for unity in the government, the great differences in law and in legal regulations in the various provinces under the Burgundian dynasty became apparent. And if these were to be welded into one, a detailed knowledge of all was indispensable. We find repeated reference to a scheme of reducing all usages to writing. The various provinces

were repeatedly ordered to bring all their "customs" to the knowledge of the government. The placard of October 7, 1531, contains an ordinance that this be done within the period of six months in order to arrange the usages: *pour les visiter et duement examiner et sur icelles avoir l'avis des gens de nos consaulx provinciaulx et aultres que besoin sera; et à bonne et mure délibération de conseil résoudre et ordonner de ces dites coustumes et de l'observance d'icelles.* The opposition to these very desirable measures proved so great, however, that nothing was actually done in many of the provinces until it was forced by the strong hand of the duke of Alva under Philip II. Still the order of Charles V. of 1531, repeated in 1540, had this result,—that the ancient legal customs were studied, old papers and traditions handed down by word of mouth were put into a permanent form, even though there was a disinclination to trust any of the ancient documents in Brussels. This codification was often effected by the Roman law which the Netherland jurists of the sixteenth century had learned at the universities. Legal science in the Netherland provinces dates from these times. The names of Tisnacq, Nicholas Everhardi, Gerard Mulart, Louis van Schore, Joost de Damhoudere, Philibert of Brussels, Viglius, Vivien, Reyvaert, Matthew van Wesembeke, are renowned in the history of law of the middle of the sixteenth century, and the admirable criminal "ordinances" of 1570 all originated in this school, and form a creditable monument to Netherland learning.

Quite as important as the reformation in universal government, finance, justice, and lawgiving, was the change in military science. It also dates from the reign of Charles the Bold, the greatest warrior of the fifteenth century. He deviated from the old system. He no longer drafted his subjects to personal service, and the jokes about the "gay crows" which appeared in the camp

before Neuss, brought thither by the municipal archers, or militia, shows that a change had come, and these home-bred troops were a rare sight. In 1536 Charles V. considered the Ghent militia wholly unsuitable for use in a critical war.

The system of mercenaries adopted in the Netherlands after the middle of the fourteenth century, and found useful in conjunction with the English archers at the time of the Arteveldes and with the Picardians of Philip the Good, was developed by Charles the Bold. His Italian troops formed, together with the English and Picardians, the kernel of his army. In addition to this he reorganised the military service of his fiefs on a model plan, reduced them to a fixed rule of clothing and arms and to periodical reviews, while he kept them together by regular payments. Further he established in 1471, after the model given by Charles VII. of France twenty-five years earlier, his bands of ordonnance, a well paid standing army of cavalry and foot-soldiers, all volunteers, mainly drawn from the Netherland nobility. These bands were divided into companies which were subdivided into tenths (*dizaines*).[1] The tenths comprised two "chambers," the chambers, six lances; each lance consisted of three knights and six foot-soldiers. Each knight was attended by one man-at-arms, one page, and one knave. The foot-soldiers were made up of three archers, one crossbowman, one rifleman, and a pikeman. The complete strength of the bands was at first about 5000, later 10,000 men. Later he gave the court, too, a military organisation, and established a picked corps, a bodyguard, consisting of 2000 experienced warriors, of which 1400 were cavalry. The army was supported by a brilliant artillery corps which, in addition to the municipal weapons, often defective, were furnished with more than 300 cannon, partly light pieces, *falconettes* or *serpentines*, partly heavy bombard-

[1] Later into *escouades*, each of four chambers.

ing guns. This doughty force was strengthened by a navy, at the head of which was the admiral of Flanders.

In Charles's time this whole Burgundian force was subject to the control of a council of war, and under the command of a marshal of Burgundy, with his lieutenant, the field-marshal. In battle the marshal commanded the advance-guard (*avant garde*), the duke followed with the main body (*bataille*), and the field-marshal with the rear-guard (*arrière garde*). Charles devoted himself to the study of military statistics and always had Vegetius and Cæsar with him. After the days of Granson, Murten, and Nancy, when the Burgundian army was practically annihilated, the organisation of the bands of ordonnance still remained in force, and they were still the flower of the army, although their numbers were cut down on account of the heavy expenses which their maintenance necessitated. In 1504 the three or four bands still in existence, numbering at the most about 1500 men, were placed under the command of distinguished nobles. Charles V. increased this number again, but again reduced it. They were, however, no longer the mass of knights and foot-soldiers from the days of Charles the Bold, but had gradually become cavalry troops, each company consisting of 50 men-at-arms, each attended by a *coutiller* and a page, besides 100 mounted archers. Moreover the company included a number of volunteers from the nobility who wanted to learn the science of war. At this period these companies were commanded by distinguished nobles appointed by the prince. In 1545, the bands of ordonnance were reorganised and thenceforward intrusted with the protection of the frontier. They were then divided into fifteen companies of varying sizes, amounting in all to 3000 men. They performed valiant service in the war against France. About 1560 Prince William of Orange, the counts of Egmont, Horne, and Bossu, the duke of Aerschot, and other nobles commanded these troops.

The bands of ordonnance under the command of the nobles of the land, and for the most part composed of natives, were, naturally, less easy to manipulate than the mercenaries, who owed everything to the prince and whose captains were dependent upon him. From the time of the first regency of Maximilian, the German *lansquenets* formed a considerable portion of the military force, especially when Albert of Saxony came to the Netherlands. These Germans were called *lansquenet* in contradistinction to the Italians and other mercenaries much used in the south of the German empire in the middle of the fifteenth century. They were massed in *vaandels*, or ensigns, of four to six hundred men under a captain, under whom in turn stood an ensign, a lieutenant, and a sergeant, besides a number of under officers. A varying number of these ensigns formed a regiment commanded by a colonel. The lansquenets were armed with spears and halberds. At this period the riflemen were only used as skirmishers.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Spanish and Italian soldiers came to the fore and were employed by Charles V. in Germany and in the Franco-Netherland wars, military tactics entered on a new era. The Spanish foot-soldiers won a reputation under Gonsalvo de Cordova, and soon forced the cavalry from the first place in the fight; the halberd yielded its place to the long spear, which varied from ten to eighteen feet; the bow gave way to firearms, to the Spanish musket, while the long Spanish dagger remained in use. Noteworthy, too, is the reappearance of armour, whose use had decreased in the preceding century. It proved useful to ward off daggers, picks, and bullets. In this new warfare the Spaniards were especially skilful, and the Spanish *tercios*, so called from the combination of three *cornelias*, or colonel divisions, were regarded as the best soldiers in the world.

It is true that through this increase of the mercenary system on the one side, of the standing army on the other, the city militia, the shooting guilds, and the armed volunteers became less and less important. The practice of arming vassals as organised by Charles the Bold fell into disuse. After the siege of Neuss we hear little of peasant soldiers. Only at the defence of their own cities or on the occasion of great campaigns like those of Martin van Rossem in 1528 do the volunteer forces appear, but not in the open field. Hirelings and standing armies have quite replaced them.

Naval affairs were on much the same footing. In 1487 Maximilian appointed an "admiral of the sea" to check the piracy of the Hooks by a more vigorous naval organisation. This officer had already existed under Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. Sometimes he was a member of the family of the Borselens of Veere, sometimes of the house of Burgundy. Philip of Burgundy, a bastard son of Duke Philip, married to an heiress of the Borselens, filled the office at one time. He was assisted by a council and could administer justice in the name of the prince over crimes committed at sea, he had the supreme command over all fleets, and the supervision of privateering, of beacons, of the coastguard, etc. After him his successors, the lords of Veere from the house of Burgundy, had the same post until the last one, Maximilian, died in 1559, and was replaced by the count of Horne. Holland, to be sure, always refused obedience to this admiral and asserted her independence of him.

After the death of Charles the Bold it was a long time before the prince succeeded in establishing a fleet of his own. Until about 1550 he was obliged to employ whatever ships he could when necessity demanded. The cities on the coast of Zealand and Holland were in the habit of fitting out ships if need were, sometimes arming the herring crafts for the protection of the herring fishers.

The fleet, however, was almost nothing in comparison with those of other nations and barely counted ten transports to serve as a nucleus about which a greater fleet of hired ships could be gathered. The little navy usually remained near the admiral in the harbour of Veere.

The standing army and the fleet, and above all the mercenary troops which had to be kept on foot in the Guelders and French wars, made heavy drains on the Burgundian treasury. Naturally these sums could not be supplied entirely from the domains and ordinary revenues. The Burgundian princes were clever indeed in such exploitations, but the fact must be borne in mind that the steadily increasing network of the Burgundian administration consumed a great part of the revenues.

The usual method of obtaining money was to ask tributes from the subjects as the petty sovereigns had always done. Now that so many provinces were united under one overlord, assemblies of all the states were much more important and consequently occurred more frequently.

The central government was allied to the subjects of the several provinces through the States-General which were summoned by the prince or the regent to persuade them to grant a tribute, or occasionally for the sake of discussing affairs in general. Originating under Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, the general assemblies obtained much influence after the death of the latter. It is true that this influence diminished on the restoration of the power of the central government under Philip the Fair, but the Guelders wars and the Spanish succession made the need of tribute so pressing that Philip, during his short reign, summoned the States-General more than ten times. After his death they were summoned to discuss the choice of a regent, a choice that fell upon Maximilian, not without difficulty, as the recollection of his first regency was vivid and not wholly agreeable. So, too,

the nomination of Margaret, and later that of Mary, was announced in a solemn general assembly. Under Charles V. these assemblies were frequent. From the moment when he assumed the sovereignty over the Netherlands until the day of his abdication, the States-General were assembled more than fifty times, usually at Brussels, occasionally at Ghent, Mechlin, Louvain, or Antwerp. Important above all were those of January, 1515, at the assumption of authority, those of July and October, 1530, when Charles installed his sister as regent and introduced the promised reformations, that of November, 1549, when he presented his son Philip to his future subjects; and the most solemn and noteworthy assemblage of all was that of October, 1555, when he abdicated.

His son Philip was not fond of these assemblies, which often gave occasion for the expression of complaints against the government, but still he held several during his stay there, usually to ask for money. But his experiences, especially that of 1559, were so disagreeable that his dislike became an antipathy, and henceforth he opposed the suggestion of an assemblage of the States-General. We find, therefore, a very wide difference between the gatherings in the days of Charles V., when there was, in spite of all the attempts of the states to put an end to the increasing demands for money, still, on the whole, a fairly good tone towards the government, and those of Philip II. when a violent opposition to the government was apparent. In December, 1557, to the great annoyance of Philip, the States-General presented to the regent a statement (*cahier de remonstrance*) consisting of not less than fifty-two articles,—complaints against the administration of finance and of military affairs.

Between the formal and less formal assemblies,—those which were held to increase the brilliancy on especially important occasions, and those which were simply called to give a tribute,—there was a great difference, especially

after the middle of the sixteenth century. At the solemn occasions seventeen provinces appeared: Brabant, Limburg with the land across the Meuse, Luxemburg, Guelders with Zutphen, Flanders, Artois, Hainaut, Holland, Zealand, Namur, Lille with Douay and Orchies, Tournay with Tournaisis, Mechlin, Friesland, Utrecht, Overyssel with Drenthe, Lingen, and Westerwolde, and Groningen. These were the famous seventeen provinces of the Netherlands. Quite different in comparison was the ordinary gathering of the States-General where the prince asked for money. Here only the old Burgundian, the "patrimonial," provinces were summoned, with the exception of Luxemburg. It was these which had been included in the list made in 1462 of the division of the tribute, the assessment or so-called *quotisatie*. Luxemburg was omitted, and Friesland, Groningen, and Guelders, besides Overyssel with the regions belonging to it acquired under Charles V., protested energetically against every attempt to include them in the demand for the universal tribute of the States-General. Utrecht, on the other hand, which, although also acquired in Charles V.'s time, was united with Holland by a union in 1534, Lille with Douay and Orchies, and Tournay were attached to Flanders and were all summoned to the tribute assemblies. The excluded provinces were fully determined to maintain their privilege in this regard. They preferred to be asked individually rather than collectively. This was natural, as they thought they could thus better maintain their independence. On the other hand, the prince sometimes preferred to negotiate with the separate provinces rather than the States together, when discussing the ever disagreeable affair of raising taxes, lest combined opposition to the government might be suggested.

When the Estates of the separate provinces, existing everywhere by the fifteenth century, received letters of summons, they sent their deputies to the appointed place

usually without plenary power to approve the expected proposition of the prince. Collected in a great hall, the chancellor of Burgundy, or, later, the president of the privy council or some other official in high position, stated what was required. After hearing all the articles the deputies returned home to confer with the Estates of their own provinces. Then followed bargaining between government and subjects, wherein the latter in return for their agreement to the tribute tried to obtain redress of some grievances or the diminution of the required sums, and the government on its side bent the circumstances to obtain what it wished. The result was very often that the government had to yield to popular demands or was forced to remit large portions of the original demand in the negotiations with the individual provinces. The determination of any one province did not bind the others. The government could do nothing more than urge their good example to some other unwilling or delaying province. The provinces were very jealous of their right to retain all ancient usages. After the deputies had returned with their definite answer the assembly was formally closed.

Then followed the very difficult work of the assessment. For this was taken as a basis the *settinge* of 1462, when Charles of Burgundy in his father's name demanded a tribute for ten years. According to this assessment the whole tribute was divided among the provinces according to their capacity, a very inconstant quantity which gives some idea of the mutual relations which existed between the provinces in those days. It is plain that Brabant and Flanders were reckoned as the chief territories, while Holland and Utrecht followed at a certain distance, separated by a greater or less distance from Hainaut, Artois, Namur, and Zealand. In the latter days of Charles V., for example, the powerful and rich provinces of Brabant and Flanders were each accustomed to pay one-third (in 1462,

one-fourth) of the whole sum; Holland, one-twelfth (earlier, one-sixth); Hainaut and Artois, each one-eighteenth. Usually Zealand paid one-fourth of Holland's share, and Utrecht one-tenth of the whole sum.

The States-General, both in their formal gatherings and when they were assembled for tributes, were thus in no single respect members of the government. The government summoned them when it considered it necessary in its own interest, and although Charles sometimes made it appear as though he would take no important measure without their aid, the States-General knew only too well that the Burgundian machine ran without their aid and that the sovereign assembled them only in the hope of obtaining relief from the eternal money stress in which he might be involved. But this very need of the government under Charles V. resulted in a great number of assemblies in which all kinds of topics were discussed in an effort to have an opinion in political affairs. The avoidance of these gatherings by the regent Margaret after 1559 aroused bad blood among the people, especially in the difficult circumstances into which the government fell.

The Estates of the several provinces were just as little members of the provincial governments. They, too, were what they had been under the earlier sovereigns when these latter had exercised the plenitude of their power—nothing more, namely, than a representation of the people, summoned by the prince or his stadtholder in the province, whenever he needed a tribute or had important matters to discuss touching the province, as, for example, the accession of a new sovereign, a new governor or provincial stadtholder, or measures touching the maintenance of the dikes, coinage, commerce, and manufacture, or the alienation of territory.

Various provincial Estates claimed a right of free assembly based on the privileges wrung from weak sov-

ereigns and stated in the Great Privilege granted by the Duchess Mary.

The government contested this right and claimed that the Estates could only assemble at the bidding of the provincial stadtholder. In Brabant, Flanders, Guelders, and Holland there were frequent contests with the government, especially about the question whether the prince in certain cases was not bound to summon his Estates or whether the summons must be regarded as simply to make known affairs of the realm rather than to obtain approval of the administration of these affairs. These were points of contention which could not be solved with the uncertain traditions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and under Charles V. were decided according to the mind of the central government.

Even this old right of the Estates to divide the tribute in the way that seemed best to them was not wholly conceded under Charles V. From 1317 there had existed in Flanders a scheme for the division of the tribute in a carefully tabulated official registry, the *Transport of Flanders*, in which the shares of cities and the castellanies were placed at a fixed quota. This was revived in 1408 and 1517 according to the then existing circumstances. In Holland the universal name of ground-tax was applied. We possess a number of very important documents concerning the Holland land-tax and the modifications thereof in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The assessment was made in the cities and villages by local assessors, also called scot receivers,—usually prominent citizens appointed by the local government. In Friesland and Groningen, taxation as established under the Saxon sovereignty was a basis when, for the first time, a certain coherence was effected.

In general, at the time of Charles V., the usages regarding the tribute were left unchanged. The universal custom was that each province stood alone and could

grant or refuse quite independently of any other. And this held true in the division throughout the province: no one city, no one village, was answerable for another. Thus if one province or one city or one village did not contribute, the sovereign lost just so much of the tribute. The individuals subject to tribute, on the other hand, were compelled by the local governments to pay their share toward the sum agreed to by city or village. In this matter it was an important question whether the nobles and clergy should bear the same part in the burden of the tribute as the rest of the population. From the beginning the Burgundian princes were quite unwilling to recognise any immunity. In Holland the nobles showed opposition for a long time, but finally had to yield. The chief nobles, the prince of Orange, counts of Egmont and of Horne, persisted in their refusal and, if not confirmed by Philip II. in their claims, were at least temporarily unmolested in 1556. The clergy had been assailed in their privileges by Charles the Bold, and were finally forced to pay their share in the later days of Charles V.

The institutions of the provincial Estates varied greatly, and the Burgundian princes retained the outcome of historical development in the separate provinces. In most of the Burgundian territories the three ranks had appeared in the assembly of the Estates, so they continued in existence.

In early times in Holland, when affairs were to be discussed which were important to the clergy the three ranks had been assembled occasionally, but there were no rich and powerful clergy there, and consequently no clerical representation in the ordinary assemblies. In Guelders, Overyssel, and Drenthe, where the conditions were the same, only two estates, or ranks, were represented. In Utrecht there was an unique body elected by the canons of the five chapters to represent the clergy.

In Guelders there were the four banner-lords (*bannerets*) of the quarter of Zutphen who were separated from the ordinary nobles and sat as a separate branch of the Estates. In Zealand the abbot of Middelburg alone represented the clergy. When the old Zealand nobility became extinct (circa 1550), Maximilian of Burgundy came forward to represent the Zealand nobility as "first noble" in his own person. In Drenthe the ranks were not separated. Nor were they in Friesland and Groningen, where the three appeared together. In Flanders the ancient four members (*vier leden*) were parts of the Estates assemblies—the three great cities with their dependencies and the *Vrije*, or jurisdiction, of Bruges. In Brabant the abbots of the great cloisters played an important part and were dominant in the clerical branch.

In Holland, in the last years of the fifteenth century, an important office came into being that proved a potent factor in its relation to the central government—that of Advocate of Holland. In the other provinces no such office was established, though, of course, questions whose solution required legal advice must have arisen regarding their relation to the central government. But in Holland, where, during the fifteenth century, especially after the death of Charles the Bold, the Estates often held diets on their own authority, the post of Advocate of the Estates and of leader of the special assemblies was merged in that of national advocate (1489). This officer of Holland soon became an important mediator between the provincial Estates and the government at Brussels.

Thus each province had individual characteristics, having root in its historical development, a difference little to the taste of the government desirous of unity and uniformity, but which was wisely countenanced, for the time being at least. In organising his newly acquired province Charles V., too, left undisturbed the old usages in the matters of Estate assemblies, although not without

a close investigation of what was really customary. It would not indeed have been prudent to embitter the Netherland people by radical changes in what they held so dear. This wise moderation, this wise respect for the old usages, is especially apparent in the establishment of the provincial government in the various provinces. At the head of each provincial government was a stadtholder or governor, except in Brabant, where the sovereign or his regent administered the government, and the appointment of so important an official might have been dangerous, especially as this powerful province already possessed wide-reaching privileges. During absence of the prince or regent the administration was intrusted to the chancellor in conjunction with the ducal council of Brabant. Nor was there any stadtholder in Mechlin, which was allied with Brabant. In the remaining provinces there were captains-general of the province in addition to the stadtholders.

These stadtholders were the representatives of the sovereigns, and as such held to special instructions which, after 1531, set limitations to their power in relation to the central government and to the regent. The stadtholder was the chief of justice, of militia, and police. He was bound to keep an eye on the relation to foreign neighbours, to maintain order in his province, to publish the ordinances of the realm, appoint the municipal governments, to summon the provincial Estates, and to preside over their sessions. In many provinces he had the right to issue provincial ordinances, the privilege of pardon, of nominating a great number of municipal officers, and the disposition of many ecclesiastical benefices. In the realm of finance the stadtholders had very little independence, and in military matters, too, their authority was limited so that, for example, the appointment of officers and the right of mustering in troops was denied them. The stadtholder of Flanders was the most limited

in his power. He was obliged to leave the announcements of general proclamations to the council, had nothing to do with provincial justice, and was only able to affect municipal laws inasmuch as he was head of the commissioners appointed by the central government.[1]

Some of the provinces were combined together under one stadtholder and formed one government. Thus there was only one for Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, which were united by a new union in 1534. For a time Guelders was under the same stadtholder, but later obtained a separate one. Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe, and Overyssel were also united under one government. Flanders, Tournay, and French Flanders, Artois, Hainaut, Namur, Luxemburg, Chiny, Limburg, and the region across the Meuse all had separate stadtholders. In all there were thus eleven stadtholders in the Netherlands, all native nobles who, as a rule, possessed estates in the provinces. The instructions served to prevent their having too much power in their provinces. But practically they were very influential and usually did not hesitate to use their power for their personal advantage.

Under the stadtholders there were usually provincial councils, or courts. Originally these were the old councils of the dukes, counts, and bishops, and their origin was evident from the kind of authority exercised. Gradually there was a disposition to limit their jurisdiction to that of courts of justice, especially after the regency of Mary of Hungary, a period fruitful in change.

The historical origin is very apparent in the court of Brabant, at the head of which was the chancellor, a very important official, who represented the prince in the Estate assemblies of the province and had the appointment of a number of officials. This court of Brabant employed

[1] Under the duke of Savoy Egmont had the whole of this right and retained it under Margaret.

a seal of its own, without which no resolution was valid, was empowered to publish ordinances for the duchy and to summon the Estates of the province, while it kept a close oversight of the maintenance of the *Joyeuse Entrée*. Until 1549 this court replaced the sovereign or governor in his absence.

In legal matters the courts of Brabant, Guelders, and Hainaut were not subject to an appeal to the great council of Mechlin, and therefore were called the sovereign courts. The court of Brabant was itself a court of appeal for the courts of justice in Limburg and the region across the Meuse.

The other provincial courts were somewhat less powerful than that of Brabant, but they, too, were consulted by the stadtholders in important measures of government, and had certain privileges in regard to the summons of the States-General, the issue of the ordinances, replacing the stadtholder in his absence, exerting certain oversight upon the officials, etc. In legal affairs they were, besides being the law courts of the first instance for various matters (domains, cases pertaining to coinage, differences between governments, suits against officials, privileges), courts of appeal from the lower tribunals just as the great council of Mechlin was for them. They consisted of a president and a fixed number of councillors, clerks, and petty officials. In the provinces acquired under Charles V., new courts were established wherever needed. This happened in Utrecht in 1530, in Guelders[1] in 1547, in Overyssel[2] not until 1553. In Friesland after the conquest the Saxon court was reformed. In Groningen the old captains' chamber (*Hoofdmannenkamer*), that had been influential in the alliance between the city and the Ommelands, was intrusted with the jurisdiction. In Drenthe

[1] In Guelders a chancellor presided over the court as in Brabant. The attorney-general there was called *momber*.

[2] Here there were chancellors and councillors as in Guelders.

they retained the old tribunal of *Drost* and *Etten*, and recognised no court.

Especially worthy of note is the care with which the government of Charles V. entered on the reorganisation of the provinces of Friesland, Groningen, and Overyssel, utterly disorganised as they were by the long-continued civil wars. We still possess data sufficient to put us in possession of all the details. The stadtholder of Friesland, George Schenk of Toutenburg, devoted himself to the task. The first step was to regulate the administration of justice, the second to appoint suitable officers, regard being paid to party spirit. Then the government was arranged with the aid of officials sent from Brussels, giving due consideration for old customs and usages, which were closely examined. As a consequence of the report the instruction was drawn up for the stadtholder and the different officials. In the succeeding years important officials were repeatedly sent from Brussels to investigate the working of the new organisation. Their reports again formed the basis for measures for improvement usually granted on the occasion of new tributes.

In the various courts the jurists gradually replaced the nobles in proportion as an exclusively judicial character was attained.

Charles the Bold had instituted reforms in the condition of the provincial courts, and his successors continued the work so that by the time of Charles V. the high nobility of the provinces was hardly recognised at all, but had to give place to persons educated in law. They were mainly from the burgher class but occasionally from the lesser nobility. Around these colleges there gathered a steadily increasing number of advocates, who educated themselves, in general, for the public service. The majority of pensionaries, secretaries, and similar officials in the cities thus began their career in the provincial courts, just

as the majority of young statesmen and the jurists of the higher colleges were in the habit of doing.

Under the provincial councils, or courts, remained the lower ranks of the bailiffs, schepens, marshals, judges, schouts, officials, great men, *redgers*, or whatever name they were known by in the various provinces—wholly as they existed of old. They retained with their ancient titles their ancient functions, and all experienced the influence of the Burgundian sovereignty in the stricter methods that proved advantageous in the lower administration as in the higher. With respect to the government of the cities, the Burgundian princes allied themselves to the municipal aristocracies who had, at the time of the struggle of the guilds in the southern districts, been enabled to maintain their existence with the help of the government. In the northern provinces they had indeed, with the same help, subdued the guilds. Side by side with the nobles who had become courtiers and the rising class of the office-holders came the municipal government circles, on which the Burgundian government depended.

We see plainly the struggle to limit the municipal governments, so far as possible, to a small number of privileged persons, to an exclusive ring of rich burghers, independent of the influence of the turbulent guilds, which were held in check by the powerful central government. It is the time wherein the Holland *vroedschappen*, already under the princes of the Bavarian house, were composed of colleges of a fixed number of persons, usually twenty or thirty. The municipal governments changed character. From the town-councils (*vroedschappen*, *collatiën*, *gezworen*, *meenten*, were the names applied to the bodies in different parts of the country), the schepens, burgomasters, etc., were selected, and the government influenced the selection. Even in the matter of the appointment of the lesser city officials, whose number in the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries increased with the extension of the cities, governmental influence was often exercised. This is the epoch when in the cities of Brabant and Flanders the power of the guilds in municipal affairs was much diminished, indeed annihilated in some places. Affairs had the same tendency, too, in the newly acquired provinces under Charles V., although the old institutions remained nominally in force.

The central government took care that its influence upon the composition of the municipal boards, upon periodical change in the "law," that is, of the municipal magistrates, was never neglected. In their instructions the stadtholders received the order to maintain, above all, sovereign rights in this regard. Special commissioners were often intrusted with the execution of this right.

In other points, too, the cities were made to feel that the loose administration of the petty sovereigns had given way to a strong central government. The tyranny of the great cities over the little ones was curbed as far as possible. In Flanders the country communities were freed from the oppressive supremacy of the great communes. Municipal justice was made subordinate to the jurisprudence of the provincial courts. Municipal finances were rescued as far as possible by measures of reform from the pitiable condition into which they had fallen in the later periods of the petty sovereigns. The municipal law was improved under the influence of the dominant Roman law in the same spirit in which the government had improved and amplified provincial law. Government commissioners were sent to the cities to set these and similar measures in operation. In conjunction with the government commissioners appear, in the fifteenth century, pensionaries, or *syndices*. These are judicial officials of the cities, risen from the class of the ancient municipal clerks or secretaries whose duties were separated at the extension of the city governments. In opposition to the

claims of the provincial government the cities had need of such officials educated in law, informed of the political relation between government and subject, and of the elements of the Roman law. In the beginning of the sixteenth century these influential persons played a great part in the cities, and here and there we find complaints about them and their threatening supremacy in the city government, in which they, as well as the secretaries, formed a staying element as compared to the changing magistracy. Towards the end of the fifteenth century salaried advocates appeared in the provincial courts and even in the central government at Brussels.

The reaction against the Burgundian authority in the days of Maximilian's first regency retarded the course of this development for a time, but in the reign of Philip the Fair, and especially that of Charles V., great advance was made. The strongest cities of the Netherlands were those in Flanders, and the advent of the Burgundian dukes in the provinces was coupled with a struggle against the great Flemish communities. But under the first Burgundian princes even, the Flemish communities revolted against the ducal authority. Ghent and Bruges especially stood at the head of an opposition movement, and John the Fearless was repeatedly annoyed by a refusal from these cities to allow their armed burghers to take part in the French wars, and when they did occasionally allow it, it happened several times that the municipal troops of these Flemish communities, wearied by a long campaign, would suddenly revolt, and with the cry, "Strike tents! on to Flanders," would return home in spite of the duke's commands or entreaties. They even entered into negotiations with the English king, and pledged themselves, in 1412, to aid in no war against him, although their sovereign, Duke John, was on a war footing with England. And they had full control of the Estates of Flanders.

Philip the Good, too, had to be cautious with the Flemish cities. In the siege of Calais, in 1436, the Flemish burghers deserted his flag as they had that of his father. Angry though he was, he had to renounce the hoped-for conquest of the English town. Ghent and Bruges were again the spokesmen in this revolt. Bruges was especially contumacious and openly defied the authority of the duke, whose very life was threatened when he showed himself in the city in 1437 with a small escort. He escaped with his own life, but a great number of his most distinguished nobles were slain at the very gate. Luckily for the duke, there was violent jealousy between Ghent and Bruges. Making use of this, he succeeded in pressing the latter city so hard—appeal to its rival was vain—that the Bruges people finally, at the end of 1440, humiliated themselves before him.

There were various other revolts in both Ghent and Bruges in 1451–1453. Under Charles the Bold there is no mention of revolt in the Flemish cities, although the duke treated them contemptuously. The fates of Liege and Dinant were sufficient warning that they no longer had to deal with weak rulers. Immediately after Charles's death, the Flemish cities threw off the yoke and were lords of the region until Duke Albert restored the Burgundian power there and made peace. The humiliating treaty of Cadzand in 1492 put an end to Ghent's opposition to Maximilian's regency.

Only one city ever again ventured to oppose this power,—Ghent, the birthplace of Emperor Charles. But the emperor did not hesitate to suppress opposition with a heavy hand. It was in 1538. Two years before, in June, 1536, the regent Mary had asked for a tribute to aid in the war against France. This was accorded by the States-General. Ghent alone refused, claiming immunity by the privilege of 1477. It offered to send a contingent of citizens to the emperor's army. But he preferred the

money. Ghent was not subdued, even after the imprisonment of a number of its citizens whom commerce had taken to Brabant. For the moment the French war prevented the emperor from using force against his native city, and the guilds took advantage of the weakness of their ruler to seize the city government. The lower classes were egged on to oppose the ruling aristocracy, and the demagogism of the *Creesers* (Screamers) was dominant for a time in Ghent. A few respectable burghers, the old regent Lieven Pijn at the head, were terribly treated. Lieven Pijn lost his life on the scaffold as a sacrifice to popular hatred of the city aristocracy. It was declared in the city that all private ownership must cease. The movement tended to make the rich poor, and the poor rich, and, in effect, all property common.

The rich were in imminent danger from the hordes of weavers, very numerous in Ghent as in the other Flemish cities. Only by taking arms could they escape general plunder. Many left the city. Anarchy increased. The privilege of Emperor Charles of 1515, the so-called "calfskin," was destroyed by the hands of the executioner.

But it was soon understood that Ghent, divided against itself, was in no condition to oppose imperial authority. Help was sought from the emperor's arch-enemy, Francis I., whose forefathers had so often been the allies of the Netherland cities in opposition to their sovereign. Still the French king hesitated to break a treaty newly sealed with the emperor and offered to receive Charles on his way through France so that he could reach the Netherlands more speedily. Charles accepted the offer and soon appeared at Brussels, where his brother, Ferdinand of Bohemia and Hungary, awaited him with a large body of troops. The emperor's appearance in the Netherlands was sufficient to break the influence of the Creesers. The demagogues were removed from municipal offices, and Ghent sued for mercy.

In the emperor's opinion they deserved, however, a punishment that would serve as a future example, and he determined to inflict it. On February 14, 1540, he went to Ghent with the regent, his brother, and a brilliant retinue, guarded by a considerable escort of German troops and armed nobles. The ringleaders of the revolt and of the rebellious government were immediately brought to trial. On April 30th, Ghent was convicted of treason (*lèse-majesté*) and deprived of all privileges and possessions. All munitions of war had to be given up, the citizens were obliged humbly to sue for mercy, and besides their share of the tribute they were condemned to pay an annual tribute, in addition to a heavy fine to be paid immediately. The officers of the city, together with the representatives of the guilds, had to appear before the emperor clad in black and bareheaded, and beg for mercy. Fifty Creesers in penitential garb, barefooted and bareheaded, with halters around their necks, accompanied them. Thus the sad procession appeared, two by two, before the mighty emperor, and the pensionary of the city implored forgiveness in the name of all. There was a little dramatic hesitation, the regent Mary, too, besought the sovereign to hear the prayer of his repentant children, and he finally granted a reluctant pardon, with conditions that effectually cut the claws of Ghent. Henceforth the appointment of the municipal officers was lodged in the hands of the sovereign, the influence of the guilds was diminished by the number being changed from fifty-three to twenty-one, the guild deacons were replaced by a *collace* of representative citizens appointed by the city government, and the authority of Ghent in the surrounding territory and over the smaller Flemish cities was annulled. This new law was called *concessio Carolina*. Finally Ghent had to submit to the erection of a citadel which could hold the city in submission.

The fate of Ghent showed what was the ideal of the Burgundian government in relation to the Netherland cities. The municipal privileges might remain in existence, but the cities were made to feel that there was a vigorous government which permitted no trifling. The fact, too, may be mentioned here that, in 1530, upon the advice of Margaret, who died shortly afterwards, Charles V. had asked and obtained from the pope release from the oath to support the *Joyeuse Entrée* of Brabant. He found this very burdensome with the opposition of the Estates of Brabant to his demands. Charles V. recognised the privileges only so far as they did not hinder him in the exercise of his sovereign power, but he was clever enough not to embitter his subjects by untimely tyranny.

Thus the state grew to the admiration of all Europe. By the sixteenth century, Belgium, Burgundy, Flanders, Brabant, the Netherlands,—the growing state was known by all these names,—can truly be said to have become a member of great importance in the European body.

Admirably situated for the commerce between the south and the north, the west and the east of the hemisphere, at the mouths of the great rivers of the west; inhabited by a large population who were distinguished from their contemporaries by energy and development of mind and body; fertile, and well cultivated; traversed by excellent canals; governed by a powerful prince who respected the freedom-loving traditions of the people without diminishing the force of the central government—with all this the collective Netherlands promised to play an important rôle in the world's history.

The state was still in a condition of change. Its different parts were not yet grown to one whole. There were still many, especially in the lately acquired provinces, who wore the Burgundian yoke with feelings of opposition. Still if the new prince had only continued in the course pursued by Charles V. and by the two great

women who had wielded the power for him, in imitation of the other great Burgundian, Philip the Good, then a really great development in the political realm might have ensued, such as made France into a united monarchy, though it, too, was composed of heterogeneous elements. The successors of Charles V. needed wise prudence allied to the vigorous energy which had stamped many of the Capet princes. But whoever knew Philip II. realised that he was not the man needed just then by the Netherlands.

Emperor Charles was justly concerned when he abdicated. Well might he hesitate to leave the provinces. He, having a clear insight into character, knew his son, and had warned him what he must respect in his Netherland subjects. But the emperor's word made no impression upon the Spaniard. Philip II. never understood the Netherlanders and was never understood by them. What would the future be under such a prince ?

CHAPTER X

THE NETHERLAND NOBLES IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

THE Burgundian princes found their chief support among the nobility, the officials, and the municipal aristocracies.

By the time of the Burgundian epoch the nobility had lost its original significance in the social organism. Even when the state still retained its feudal form, the tendency was for the nobles to gather around the person of the prince. The prince was the sun from which the nobles gained their brilliancy; the sphere of the princely court was the element in which the noble moved by preference. War was no longer the ideal existence. The noble no longer depended solely on his own good sword, but looked to the princely favour. He was no longer a knight at the head of his own men, but an officer in the mercenary army of the prince,—*chair et sang à commandement*, said Chastellain cynically. The military life was usually the career preferred, though many nobles, of the lower rank at least, also devoted themselves to letters and entered the Burgundian official world as members of the government colleges and of the provincial councils.

Now that the nobles no longer lived exclusively in the country, feuds with the neighbours, which had occupied a large part of their lives, became less frequent. The vigorous central government was instrumental in check-

ing all species of private warfare. There was no more talk of robber-castles, thanks to the same strong hand, aided by the burghers who had so much need of the maintenance of peace. The old tournaments also had changed their character and had become harmless sports in which participants appeared in the characters of Lancelot, Tristan, the knight of the Swan, and often made the ancient tales of chivalry ridiculous. With the end of the crusades, the strife for religion had vanished. Men no longer vied with each other in chivalrous spirit and skill, in the service of women, in pious zeal, but rather in ornament and luxury of dress, in the knowledge of court etiquette, in gallant manners, in clever word contests, in chess, and in other accomplishments in which every gentleman was bound to be skilled.

Following the example of the dukes of Burgundy, luxury in dress reached an unprecedented height. The very armour in battle was brilliant in gold and silver trimmings, in jewels, and fine wrought work. But above all at the court festivals did the display of luxury border on the incredible. Gold- and silver-brocaded cloth, fine linen and damask, silk and velvet, fur and lace, were used freely in the rich clothing of the Burgundian knights and ladies in the time of Philip the Good. Close-fitting breeches and long-pointed shoes were the fashion. The upper garments were short, barely reaching the middle, at the most to the knee, gay and embroidered, with borders of fur and sleeves closed to the hand, hats with broad brims, with cloths bound round the head and the chin—such was the clothing of the nobles. The ladies wore heavy, close-fitting dresses, cut square in the neck, with long trains and pointed hoods with long veils.

In the days of Maximilian and Charles V., the clothing was even more luxurious in velvet and brocade, in silk and satin, in fur and lace. Very important in this regard was the placard of October 7, 1531, forbidding the use of

gold and silver brocade and linen in apparel, and limiting to princes and marquises, counts, knights of the Fleece, members of the privy council, and some others, with their families, the use of crimson velvet or satin mantles and togas, while all other colours of velvet were allowed only to those who possessed three horses, satin and damask to those with two horses, and he who had only one horse had to be contented with silken garments.

Not less luxury was displayed in the finely embroidered tapestries of the sixteenth century which garnished the walls of palaces and castles. Only a few remain to us, and they are the admiration of the connoisseurs of to-day.

Etiquette, after the time of Charles the Bold, was modelled on the stiff Spanish forms by the regents, Mary and Margaret of Parma, and was regulated to the smallest detail.

In no other court were there so many fêtes. One of the most celebrated of the great Burgundian festivals was that of *Le vœu du faisan* of 1453 at Lille. There was a brilliant tournament in which Adolph of Cleves, lord of Ravestein, fought with Count Charles of Charolais and a host of other nobles for a golden swan on a long chain set with rubies. After the tournament, the duke gave a rich banquet in a hall decorated with tapestry representing the life of Hercules. There were three tables of different size. The centrepiece on the first table was a church with a running clock and a chorus of singers. Another piece on the same table consisted of a naked child standing on a rock over which rose-water flowed. Farther on there was a large ship fully manned with sailors, and a beautiful fountain of glass and lead whence a stream spouted more than a foot high and fell into a magnificent bower with rocks of precious stones. On the second table stood a gigantic pasty in which not less than twenty-eight living musicians played. Another ornament was the enchanted castle of Melusina. From two of the

towers orange-water spurted into the moats beneath. A third piece was a windmill with a bird fixed on one of the sails at which a number of people of every rank and character seemed to shoot. A fourth piece was a tun lying in a vineyard from which a sweet and a bitter drink flowed. The fifth was a wilderness in which an artificial tiger and a snake fought. The sixth was a savage riding on a camel. The seventh, a man who beat a bush in which birds sat, while a knight and a lady, sitting in a rose-bower, ate up the little birds and laughed at each other. The eighth was a fool on a bear between curious rocks covered with ice. The ninth was a lake on which a ship sailed, worked by machinery. The smallest table had an Indian jungle filled with wild beasts, also worked by machinery; a lion roaming around a tree in the middle of a meadow; finally, a peddler who made his rounds in a village.

The arrangement of the courses and plate was as elaborate as that of the artificial decorations. Enormous platters contained forty-eight kinds of edibles. The roast was carried around the table in little waggons decorated with blue and gold. The plate was arranged on an enormous buffet glittering with gold and silver and glass decorated with jewels. Around this, wooden figures were placed as a guard, forming a circle which none could enter but the butlers. There was, moreover, a high pillar in the hall on which was the figure of a nude woman with long hair, half covered with a transparent veil skilfully woven and embroidered with Greek letters. From her right breast flowed a stream of hippocras. Close by was another pillar to which a living lion was chained under an inscription, "Do not touch my lady."

Before the beginning of the feast all this was inspected by the duke and his train and the noble guests gathered from all sides. When they were seated, the clock in the church-tower struck, and a song rang out from four young

choral singers, while a shepherd in the abovementioned pasty played on his bagpipe. Suddenly there appeared at the entrance of the hall a steed caparisoned with silk, on which sat two disguised trumpeters who blew a lusty greeting. They were escorted by sixteen knights in the ducal colours. Then the organ in the church played again, alternating with the music of the hunting-horn from the pasty. Then a gnome on a wild boar rode into the hall. He was furnished with dragon claws, and the upper part of his body was draped in silk. On his head and shoulders sat a man. He made the rounds of the hall and then departed amid the clamour of the choral singers and the orchestra which played in the pasty. Thereupon rang out four clarions from behind a curtain. Suddenly this was drawn aside, and Jason appeared, clad as a knight, and immediately began a fight with several wild bulls. After a mighty struggle with lance and dagger Jason conquered by throwing some liquid from a magic flask, given him by Medea, over the beasts. Then the curtain fell, rising again at intervals to show Jason's marvellous deeds. He overcame a dragon with a ring given him by Medea, harnessed the conquered bulls to a plough, and sowed dragons' teeth, whence armed men sprang up and fought with each other until they were all slain. The performances were relieved by song and stringed instruments, by a hart singing a duet with a young child, and the spectacle of a falcon hunt of a live heron in the hall.

Finally there appeared a giant, clad as a Saracen, leading an elephant on which a lady—dressed as a nun—was seated. She ordered the giant to halt, and introduced herself in a long and artificial poem as the *Holy Church, Your Mother*, who begged the assembled knights to release her from unbelievers.

The king-at-arms of the Golden Fleece brought in a living pheasant with a golden chain around the neck, fol-

lowed by two noble damsels, accompanied by two knights and a troop of heralds. The king-at-arms, according to ancient custom, offered the pheasant to the duke to make useful and valid vows (*pour faire vœux utiles et valables*), to which the duke responded by presenting a document to the king-at-arms wherein was registered a promise to make a crusade. Then "the Church" departed on her elephant, after urging the knights to follow their master's example. This they did in a series of declarations which were in part deferred until the following day.

Immediately after the vow was made by the duke, and while those of his knights were being collected, the tables in the hall were quickly removed, and an eye-witness, who described the festival and saw it all vanish like a dream, had nothing better to do than to meditate about the outrageous excess and great outlay demanded by these banquets. He was not a little troubled on this point, not realising that Charles the Bold would try to surpass this luxury. While he was standing thinking and discussing with one of the duke's chamberlains the adventurous plan of the crusade, that he only half liked, a great troop of torch-bearers appeared, followed by a number of musicians and a veiled lady clad in damask, *Grace Dieu*, accompanied by twelve brilliantly equipped knights and the same number of ladies representing Religion, Justice, Eloquence, Power, etc. They were introduced to the duke with appropriate couplets. These were the most distinguished nobles and ladies of the court, and it was the latter who presented the prize of the day to the victor, the count of Charolais. A brilliant dance ended the fête, long famous in the annals of Burgundian festivities.

This luxurious court life made heavy drafts on the purses of the courtiers. To be sure, the favour of the sovereign or regent supplied the nobles with a number of profitable positions, and the profits were considerably

increased in a shameful way by extortions and venality; still their resources could not endure the incredible prodigality. Then, in addition, there were the numberless military expeditions, which did indeed result in booty, but were costly in themselves, and the devastation of the possessions of the nobles in the country in the troublesome times of Maximilian's first regency, also, so far as Holland and Brabant are concerned, in the Guelders wars. Already, at the time of Charles the Bold, financial difficulties began which, on the one hand, rendered the nobles more dependent on the favour of the sovereign, and, on the other hand, caused great discontent among them. In the last years of the regent Mary and at the time of Margaret of Parma, the poverty of the nobles was very serious. The court of Margaret of Savoy, a very intellectual and gifted woman, was less brilliant than that of her Burgundian predecessors, partially as a result of the poverty with which she had to contend. Still, under her and her successor, the court remained one of the most luxurious in Europe, and was very little surpassed by that of France in the days of the lavish Francis I. The nobles were still intoxicated with luxury, especially the younger ones, who kept such gay houses that the earnest-minded and pious regent Mary once declared to Charles:

"The youth who are growing up among the nobles of this country have morals that I cannot and will not endure. Good faith, reverence for God and for the king have vanished. Except with a very few, the corruption is so great that, even if I were a man, not alone would I refuse to govern them but would scarcely be willing to consort with them. God is my witness when I assure your majesty that I would rather earn my bread by manual labour than come into touch with them."[1]

So low had the Netherland nobility sunk since the days

[1] Compare Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Cartons voor de gesch. van den Nederl. vrijheidsoorlog* ('s Gravenhage, 1891), p. 87 *et seq.*

when Froissart, the contemporary of Philip the Bold, had given utterance to the swan-song of feudal chivalry—from the time, too, when Chastellain had glorified the Burgundian nobles in the days of Philip the Good—in the *Livre des faits du bon chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalaing.* He went forth as an after-bloom of ancient chivalry to fight tournaments, and made the rounds of France, England, Scotland, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, striving and contending for the honour of chivalry. At about 1450, this Jacques de Lalaing, the chevalier *sans reproche* of the Burgundian court, was the model for many a knight who tried, like him, to maintain the ancient reputation of the Hainaut nobles for prowess. In the above mentioned year, his sojourn at Châlons on the Marne became famous when, like another Lancelot, he crossed lances with everyone who passed by on the road to Rome. He was pre-eminent above his fellows as the knight who "took chastity for the pillar of his glory," according to his epitaph. He fell in his thirty-third year struggling valiantly at the siege of the castle of Poucques, defended by the Ghenters.

There were indeed great changes since the days when Hainaut and the territories thereabouts were rich in the flower of chivalry. In 1560 the Netherland nobility, proud of the brilliancy of the court of Brussels, could look with contempt upon the rough Westerwolder who led a simpler life on the Rhine, but still it was evident that, exhausted as they were, they could offer no vigorous support to the sovereignty which had grown up with their aid, and which reckoned on their strength for the future.

In great part, the reason for the decay of the Netherland nobility lay in the great change in the art of war, whereby the cavalry in all Europe were eclipsed by the foot-soldiers; under the influence, too, of the increase in the importance of firearms that left little room for personal force and skill, in which the knights had excelled.

For this reason the existence of the nobility was undermined, and the life of courtiers was their only resource. On the other side, the increasing riches of the burghers and the allied alienation of territorial possessions of the straitened nobles were also causes for the decay of the caste. But the Burgundian princes, too, were to blame. They attempted to surpass the brilliancy of the French nobles and of the French court by unmeasured luxury. They tried to renew the ancient traditions of chivalry in Brabant by the establishment of brilliant festivals and costly tournaments. They set the example and demanded imitation of a madly prodigal luxury.

In regard to morals in the upper circles, there was much to be wished for. Philip the Good himself had a great many bastards by young noblewomen, and his courtiers were not slow in imitating their sovereign in this regard. There were those who boasted of thirty, forty, sixty bastards. It is true that Charles the Bold made an effort to check this increasing immorality at the court, but under the light-hearted Maximilian and his son there was no protest against it. The reputation of wantonness and levity, of dissipation and immorality, attached to the Burgundian court, and not unjustly, even though the regents, Mary of Hungary and Margaret of Parma, and the young sovereign Philip II. could not be reproached with these vices, and the austerity of the last was one of the causes of the lack of sympathy between him and the Flemish nobility. Charles V., the father of the famous bastards Margaret of Parma and Don John of Austria, was far less strict than his children.

The nobles had asked and obtained the aid of their sovereign against the waxing force of the burghers. The prince gave the aid and thereby attached the nobles to him. Thus the prince and nobles were drawn together: the latter saved by the former from destruction, the

former supported in his attempts to acquire sovereign power. Apparently they were thus made inseparable, but the prince began to understand the decay of the tree deprived of roots. The nobles began to understand that they had forfeited their independence to avoid destruction and that sovereign protection was not sufficient to avert changes in social conditions.

Thus, by the middle of the sixteenth century, mutual disillusionment occasioned an unpleasant tone between the two parties. The nobles charged their loss of position to the insatiable ambition of the prince, who would permit no coöperation of the nobles, but demanded entire submission to his sovereignty. The prince reproached the nobles with inability or incapacity to fulfil the services required of them. The crisis was serious. The nobles demanded restoration of their old prosperity, of their position as the first estate, of their ancient influence in the country. The prince wanted submission to his sovereign authority in return for personal favours given out of the fulness of his power.

The highest rank of the Burgundian nobles was comprised in the order of the Golden Fleece established by Philip the Good at Brussels in 1430, who had, on occasion of his marriage with Princess Isabel of Portugal at Bruges (January 10, 1430), celebrated its institution with a very brilliant festival, "so that by this measure the true Catholic faith, the estate of our holy mother, the church, the tranquillity and prosperity of public affairs, may so far as possible be defended, guarded, preserved."

The order, dedicated to St. Andrew, the patron saint of the house of Burgundy as St. Michel was of that of France, was to consist of thirty-one knights, the chief being the ruling prince of Burgundy. Each knight, clad on ceremonial occasions in a scarlet mantle flowing to the ground, with a hat of the same stuff on his head, received at his election a collar of gold set with firestones, from

which depended a lamb with a golden fleece. At the death of the knights, the chains were returned to the duke. The statutes of the order consisted of ninety-four articles, wherein the rights and obligations of the knights in respect to their sovereign were described in the greatest detail as well as the ceremonial of their meetings. The greatest stress was laid on the bond between prince and knights.

The knights of the Golden Fleece were also the most trusted persons in the environment of the prince, representatives usually of the highest noble families in the land. They claimed the chief government posts, membership in the government colleges, governorships, and the posts of commanders in the army. Occasionally, too, there were a few members of allied sovereign houses received into the order. In important affairs, asked or unasked, the knights were at liberty to give the prince who had raised them to the station of brothers-at-arms advice both in personal and public matters. The chapters of the order had supreme jurisdiction over the members, at least from the minority of Charles V., when, under Margaret of Savoy, their influence in affairs of state began to increase. Their assemblies were famous for the luxury and prodigality of food and wine.

Thus the knights of the Golden Fleece were preëminent among the Netherland nobles. Next to them were the other members of their class, the Croys and Lalaings of Hainaut, the Nassaus, who had taken root in Brabant in the fifteenth century, the Oranges, domesticated in the Burgundian court under the first dukes of the house of Burgundy, the Vergys from Burgundy, the Hoornes and de Berghes from Brabant, the Egmonts and Brederodes from Holland, the Borselens from Zealand, the Ravesteins and van den Berghs from Guelders. They formed, together with the bastards of Philip the Good and their descendants, the class of nobles called usually the " great mas-

ters," which shows that influence in the course of events was ascribed to them. They were soon distinguished from the other nobles by higher titles given to them by Maximilian at the time of his first regency, and by Charles V. as Roman king and emperor. These are the persons who, through their elevation as dukes of Aerschot, marquises of Veere and Flushing or de Berghes, counts of Egmont, Buren, Kuilenburg, Berghes, Hoogstraaten, Roeulx, stood next in rank to the princes of Orange and the counts of Nassau. Their most important estates were made into a sort of *majorats* for the eldest sons in the male line, while the younger sons were forced to be content with small estates or to enter the church to be endowed with rich canonries, abbeys, or even bishoprics. From these nobles the *écroues de l'hôtel*, the chief official chamberlains, etc., were chosen. Under these higher lords were grouped the many lesser ones who only appeared at court on very great occasions and were officers in the bands of ordinance or in the other bodies of soldiers. A great number of the lesser nobility devoted themselves to the government, and filled many of the councillors' places in the provincial courts or other more local colleges.

If one considers how, in all this arrangement, the nobles could wield influence, in addition, at the assembly of the States, their position does not seems one to be despised, even though they no longer enjoyed the high social rank of the good old feudal days. Then, too, in many regions the nobles still possessed extensive landed property that assured them predominance in the country even though it was often burdened with debt. In all the provinces, too, there were still many nobles who lived in their ancestral castles where court influence was little felt.

The nobles who led the simplest lives and clung most closely to the manner of their ancestors, and whose position most resembled that of their forbears, were those of Friesland, Drenthe, and Overyssel. They still lived in

the midst of serfs and of dependent peasants. The nobles of Guelders, Utrecht, Holland, and of the southern Netherlands united in despising their simple peers, while the nobles of south Netherland in general considered themselves superior to the somewhat boorish northerners. The northern nobles were scantily represented in the government and had to be contented with exercising their influence in provincial matters, although they had fierce contests with the growing cities. The nobles of the south, on the other hand, basking in the sun of sovereign favour, formed the majority at the Brussels court, enjoying more and more favour, which they did not hesitate to make use of.

When the real troubles of the sixteenth century arose, the weakness of the nobles became evident. It soon became plain that the strength of the nation lay not with them but in the cities, and it was from the Netherland burgher class that the national movement of the sixteenth century found its strongest support.

CHAPTER VI

ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITIONS IN BURGUNDIAN TERRITORY

THE ecclesiastics, like the nobles, lost their influence in European society during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They, too, found that they were no longer fitted for the part they were called upon to play. The deterioration of the clergy was closely allied to the deterioration of the church organisation in the centuries following the popes' residence at Avignon and the schism. In their "Babylonian captivity" the popes were no longer the independent leaders of a world-force which had also owed some of its glamour to the famous seat of universal sovereignty hitherto their capital. They had become the obedient servants of the French king, whose influence in ecclesiastical affairs was neither desired nor acknowledged as lawful by hostile England, by the German emperor, or by the other princes and peoples of Europe. Papal authority lost its universal character, and a great portion of the church troubled itself little about a spiritual head who was himself dependent on a powerful lay sovereignty.

The discontent of the majority of Catholic christendom with the popes' stay at Avignon, finally led to the choice of two popes (1378), one at Avignon, one at Rome—and the great schism arose. In the main, the Netherlands adhered to the pope at Rome, Urban VI., and to his successors. But even a man like Gerrit de Groote was

somewhat uncertain on this point. He accepted Urban, but declared: "I should not have the courage to affirm that he is pope, for no one can assert the uncertain to be certain without committing sin." The adherents of the Roman popes were not, however, firm in their benefices. For instance, the Brederodes kept out the bishop appointed in the Sticht by the Roman pope, supported in their opposition by Pope Clement VII. at Avignon, who finally made a member of the family opposition bishop.

The manifold difficulties from the schism finally led to a church council at Pisa (1409). Several Netherland ecclesiastics and princes went thither or sent a deputy. Bishop Frederick of Utrecht, Duke Anthony of Brabant, and the bishop of Liege were represented. But neither this council nor that of 1414 at Constance had the desired result of reforming the church. An insight into the state of affairs is afforded in the discussion of the legality of the marriage of Jacqueline of Bavaria with John of Brabant. In the third of the great councils, that of Basel (1431–1449), which terminated the schism, several Netherland ecclesiastics took part. Here, too, no radical reformation was effected. The council of Pisa was important as showing the developing ideas in regard to church reformation expressed by famous theologians like Gerson and D'Ailly, but concerned the Netherlands less than the others. Still the declaration that the council was higher authority than the pope became a sufficiently important fact in later church history to make the council noteworthy. It represented a new phase in the development of ecclesiastical conditions that was felt in the most remote lands of christendom, and especially in the Netherlands, where Gerson's writings were widely spread and his ideas found ready hearing.

The council of Constance was important on account of the resolution taken in regard to Windesheim. The Brothers of the Common Life had been fiercely attacked

by the Groningen Dominican, Matthew Grabow, in a work wherein the grievances against the establishment were formulated in bitter words, declaring that it was illegal and pernicious, being an institution half lay and half ecclesiastical in its foundation. The prior of the Windesheim congregation, John Vos, went to the council with three friends and convinced the assembled prelates so thoroughly of the legality of the Brothers and of the real significance of his own society that the Brothers were acquitted of the charge of heresy and the Windesheimers were endowed with increased privileges.

At the council of Basel, the Utrecht schism was the main point which had any connection with ecclesiastical affairs in the Netherlands or with the history of the Netherlands. Both parties in the Sticht tried to truckle to the council in order to attain their private ends.

The councils proved impotent to fulfil their task of reformation, and yet the dire need thereof was greater than ever. In the North many protests were uttered to this effect, and from the beginning of the fifteenth century on, we find some few attempts at reformation in the convents. The Windesheim congregation was formally empowered by the council of Basel in 1435 to find a remedy for the evils in the cloisters of Brunswick and of the bishoprics of Hildesheim, Halberstadt, and Verden. Good service was done through the whole fifteenth century, sometimes with coöperation of the cloisters, and sometimes in spite of violent opposition from both monks and city rulers jealous of their authority.

In 1451, a papal legate, Nicholas of Cusa, visited the provinces, especially to study the Windesheim congregation, which he admired greatly. Moreover, he reformed several German monasteries after its model and thus extended its influence throughout northern Germany. Nor did he confine himself to Windesheim, but visited, *reformationis causa*, a number of cloisters in Friesland,

Holland, Brabant, and the Sticht, and accomplished great improvements. It is true that after his departure many cloisters relapsed to their former state, but something of the awakened spirit remained.

Among others whose efforts in reforming church life met with success, was the famous John Brugman. Born about 1400 in the territory of Jülich, this Franciscan not only worked hard for the betterment of the Franciscan monasteries but also exercised great influence on the people at large by his sermons. He first comes to our notice as a zealous champion of the "*Observantie*," a movement which originated at St. Omer about the year of his birth and was intended to bind the Franciscans more strictly to their ancient rules. Brugman was initiated into the purer spirit at St. Omer in the Brother Cloister. From the year 1439 on, when the first Observants appeared at Gouda, their activity began to make itself felt, and from the middle of the century, under the leadership of Brugman, it was influential nearly everywhere. Gifted as he was with real power of speech, his sermons attracted many. Some specimens of them are in existence and give evidence of his force. His discourses touched the heart of the populace by figures drawn from daily life, and he journeyed indefatigably through country and cities giving his message until the very day of his death in 1473.

The same spirit of reform was breathed in other conventual orders too. The Benedictines of Egmont and Rijnsburg all came under its influence, but speedily relapsed into their old ways, although Nicholas of Cusa himself visited and "reformed" them. It was not until the sixteenth century that a better spirit prevailed permanently in the former convent. Many Benedictine monasteries took part in the reform movement which emanated from the cloister of Bursfeld and was in close sympathy with Windesheim. After 1420, this desire for

reform was apparent among the Cistercians in the congregation of Sibculo. Here, too, a stricter observance of the order's old rules was enforced. The " Holland congregation " of the Dominicans originated in the middle of the fifteenth century. This emanated from Rotterdam and won an exceptionally good name for the north Netherland Dominicans by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In spite of the influence exerted temporarily or locally by these reform movements, the evils were too deeply rooted to be permanently eradicated without vigorous measures. We find repeatedly that conventual reform speedily disappeared, chiefly owing to unsuitable individuals who were members of convents.

The Windesheim convents, pure as they were in the fifteenth century, began to fall into a condition of " slow degeneration " twenty years later, so that by the beginning of the sixteenth century they, too, were cited as an example of " quick decay." This explains why the sharp pen of Erasmus gives no edifying picture of the Netherland cloisters with which he was probably well acquainted from his sojourn (1486 to 1491) in the convent of Steyn near Gouda, and why, in the first glow of reformation ideas, the cloisters were almost emptied. But, on the other hand, one must bear in mind in reading these violent attacks that they were written by a man who had at first approved of convent life in its proper place, and only later, when he had entered on his wandering scholar's life, began to sneer at barbaric Holland, and especially at Holland convents. One of his youthful pamphlets, *De Contemptu Mundi*, is filled with praises of the peaceful cloister existence that he, the son of a priest and a domestic, had learned to know at an early age. This was written when the author was twenty. In a later edition of the work there is a chapter entirely contradicting this favourable impression. His

numerous later satires on monks and convent life are written in a different tone and give pictures of uncouthness and drunkenness, of unchastity and stupidity, of laziness and immorality, totally at variance with his earlier ideals. The explanation is quite possible that the youthful Erasmus had entered the Augustinian monastery with high ideals and had been as keenly disillusioned on experiencing the reality as Luther had been before him, and became more and more alienated from the system. Thus he arrived at the point of writing about his earlier stay at Steyn: "I remember the kind of conversation we used to carry on, so trivial and insignificant, so removed from the spirit of Christianity. Our drinking bouts were as little spiritual, as was, in short, our whole manner of life, of which I do not know what good remains, if the so-called ceremonials be omitted."

Nevertheless cloisters were not all alike. In the very end of the fifteenth century that of Aduard was a model of piety and learning. These were the days when Rudolph Agricola and Wessel Gansfoort had gathered around them a circle of excellent men. There is evidence of profound spirituality in many a convent-writing of the fifteenth century, permeated indeed with a mystic spirit alien to us, occasionally marked by sickly sentimentality which seeks an outlet in glowing declarations of devoted love toward the Bridegroom and the Holy Virgin, a visionary tone such as often appears in secluded convent life, all betokening close devotion to the old belief. From the hymns of the time we can understand the childish, naïve piety, the gentle religious spirit of the contemplative life, of which Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* is the best expression. This little book, with its praise of humility, of loving care, of calm peace of the soul, of continuous exercise in devotion, in self-denial, and in performance of duty, is indeed the fairest document left us by the fifteenth century. It was

a consolation to many at the time, and later, too, more often than the Bible itself, and gave happiness to many Netherlanders, men and women, learned and simple, of rank and in common life, nay, even in the days when the zealous spirit of the Reformation came to disturb men's peace of mind.

What was true of the monastic life was also true of the priesthood in the year 1500 and thereabouts. There were many who "fought like knights instead of teaching the gospel like clergy." They "cared for themselves and their steeds, but tossed their books aside and did not shame to load their fingers with rings. Dice, gaming, and revelling till late at night were their chosen occupations."[1] In the monastic chronicles of Friesland of these days it is plain that the secular clergy were not behind their brethren of the cloisters in loose living. The extortions of which the pastors were guilty, the unchaste lives which they led with their concubines, the intoxication which had become habitual among the clergy, their ignorance, their covetousness—all this is ample testimony that the Netherland clergy at the beginning of the sixteenth century were not better than their contemporaries in their manner of life.

And there was little improvement to find in the higher clergy. Bishop Frederick of Blankenheim left the Windesheimers in peace, but neither Rudolph of Diepholt nor his successors took the slightest trouble to improve affairs in the Sticht. The bishops from the house of Burgundy loved luxury as much as the dukes and were little fitted to put their hands to the plough. Philip of Burgundy was not spiritually inclined, but he meant well—only the opposition of a few councillors was sufficient to deter him from taking proposed measures of reform. The partisanship of his biographer, who makes much of his master's spirit of reform, should lead us to accept his statements cautiously.

[1] Cornelius Aurelius, in Burmannus, *Hadrianus IV.*, p. 282.

It was no better in the bishopric of Liege. Here, too, the bishops were great lords who did their best to further their political interests and troubled themselves little about spiritual duties. Even Erard de la Mark showed little real interest in spiritual matters, unless his authority was concerned. And what could be expected of the flock, when the bishops offered such examples ?

Before the close of the fifteenth century, there were vehement protests against the ecclesiastical conditions in the Netherlands. One of the prominent reformers was John Wessel Gansfoort (1419–1489). Nurtured in the school of the Brothers of the Common Life at Zwolle, he grew up under the influence of Thomas à Kempis and other well-known Windesheimers and betook himself later to Cologne, Heidelberg, and Louvain to study theology. A journey to Italy, a lengthy stay at Paris, after which he lived at Basel and at Heidelberg, where he was professor, all contributed to make this disputatious master of contradictions or, *Magister Contradictionis*, this learned *lux mundi*, one of the most famous theologians of his times. He was forced to leave Heidelberg in 1479, on account of the persecutions of his opponents among the Dominicans, and he returned to his native city, where he spent the remaining years of his life, often visiting Aduard and the Windesheim friends near Zwolle. Here he was under the protection of Bishop David of Utrecht, who took his part against the Dominicans of Groningen, the supporters of the ancient patristical tenets. Very remarkable are his writings, in which he sharply criticises the church of his days somewhat in the line taken by the Windesheimers, whose gentle mysticism had given him his cue. He placed the authority of the Bible far above that of the church, as therein he found the fountainhead of his belief. He was vigorously opposed to auricular confession, to excommunication, to the doctrines of transubstantiation, of absolution, of

saint worship, and to the use of the rosary. His words were echoed by a large circle of followers, while even the bishop of Utrecht, the unspiritual David of Burgundy, was deeply impressed by his writings. At Groningen, Aduard, Zwolle, and Deventer he found a host of followers among the priests and schoolmasters, who after his death cherished his thoughts as holy relics and passed them on to posterity. Rudolph Agricola of Bafloo (1442–1485), the famous professor at Heidelberg, was one of this circle. After long wanderings (1479–1483), he took up his abode at Groningen and died too young to exert a profound influence on his contemporaries. He, too, contested the mass, transubstantiation, etc.

There was a certain alliance between the disciples of Wessel and the circle of humanists who had gathered around Philip of Burgundy at Wijk near Duurstede, enjoying the favour of the prince, who strongly sympathised with art and learning. There were men of similar character to be found throughout the Netherlands: men like the learned rector of Deventer, Alexander Hegius, the master of Erasmus, the friend of Agricola and Wessel; like John Murmellius, the great pedagogue who taught at Roermond, Alkmaar, and Deventer; like William Frederick, the influential Groningen pastor, and his friends, Gosewinus van Halen, and Nicholas Lesdorp, also rectors; like Hinne Rode at Utrecht; like Gnapheus and Hoen at the Hague; like the historian Snoy and the friend of Erasmus, Cornelius Aurelius van Lopsen; like the learned Herman of Gouda; like the famous humanist Noviomagus, the friend of Bishop Philip; all stood—priests, schoolmasters, advocates—about on the same line. All recognised as their superior the great Rotterdammer, famous now throughout Europe,—Desiderius Erasmus, who made no secret of his grievances against the church. The same spirit, too, was evident in the southern part of the Netherland provinces. The majority of high officials,

many learned men, even at Louvain, sympathised with reform in the church. In the north, especially, the clergy and schoolmasters were the bearers of the newly developing ideas, inclined to reform in the same sense that Erasmus was,—that is, a reformation within the church, not against her.

Induced to leave the cloister by the invitation of the bishop of Cambrai to become his secretary, Erasmus pursued his studies in Paris, though under difficult circumstances, while he was earning his livelihood by giving lessons. A short sojourn at the castle of the distinguished noble lady, Anna van Borselen of Veere, at Cortgene, in North Beveland, disappointed him in his expectation of a quiet student life in a quiet spot. He returned to Paris; made several journeys to England, where he gave an impulse to humanistic studies at Oxford and Cambridge; visited Italy, where he made acquaintance with the decay existing at Rome at the same time with the love of learning and art also prevalent there. Again he visited England, where he found so much friendship in the circles of Wolsey and Thomas More, journeyed to the Rhine cities as far as Basel, writing, teaching, and studying. While at London, England, in the train of and intimate with Thomas More (1511), he composed the *Encomium Moriæ*, the "Praise of Folly," the sharp satire on social conditions of his time which spread his fame throughout all Europe. On a journey through the Rhine cities he made acquaintance with the Basel publisher, Frobenius, who collected his *Adagia*—a rich treasury of learning and worldly wisdom —and printed them in the later larger editions, and who also brought out (1516) his edition of the Greek New Testament, a work of great significance in the then existing condition of religion. After a long sojourn at Louvain, broken by some journeys to England and Basel, Erasmus left the city in 1521, as he feared being forced

into the contest with Lutheranism, and settled at Basel, where he hoped to spend the rest of his life in peace and quiet, keeping the press of Frobenius continuously busy. He published, besides many other writings, the complete editions of his *Colloquia Familiaria*, a rich source of knowledge of contemporaneous life. But he was not allowed to die in peace. The victory of the Reformation in Basel finally forced him to leave the city, in order to avoid the choice between Catholicism and Protestantism, a choice very difficult for him as his turn of mind was eminently sceptical. He took refuge in Freiburg, but returned to Basel in 1534, where he died July 12, 1536, in the seventieth year of his life.

Such is the bare outline of the life of the most famous Netherlander of the time of Charles V.—an uneasy life, devoted to letters and to theological disputes. Erasmus lifted his voice against the shortcomings of the church —against celibacy, sacraments, monastic life, the confessional, priestly ambition and luxurious living, relic worship, adoration of the Virgin, and papal supremacy. On all these subjects he agreed with the reformers rather than with the papal party, but he never openly sided with Luther, for he was startled at the violence, at the separation from the church. He was a man of moderate convictions, looking down upon the dogmas of the two conflicting parties from the height of his philosophy, sympathising with a reformation within the church, devoted as he was to her old forms, perhaps also in part to her emoluments, which prevented his leaving the church, upon which he was dependent for his subsistence. When it is said that Holland is of Erasmus' religion, the moderation of feeling is meant thereby which is the most striking characteristic of the great humanist, and which was also evident among his friends and contemporaries. Moderation ruled in the governmental circles of the Netherlands both in the days of Margaret of Savoy and

in those of the "Christian widow," Mary of Hungary. The latter was closely akin to the great savant in ideas, and to her was dedicated the *Vidua Christiana*. She, too, was antagonistic to Luther, yet considered him a wholesome manifestation in the church, so the great German reformer, also, ventured to dedicate one of his works to her. This spirit was also dominant in the days when Philip II. enforced more vigorous measures against the wide-spreading reformation ideas. It ruled again when the Netherland statesmen who served Margaret of Parma—Viglius, Hopper, and others, all spiritual children of Erasmus—received, to their consternation, the order to enforce the ultra-orthodox conclusions of the council of Trent. The spirit of Gansfoort and Erasmus lived in Prince William I. and Oldenbarneveldt when Spanish sovereignty in the south brought a more vigorous direction to the helm.

Nevertheless, although the ideas of Erasmus gave the cue in the government circles, they did not affect the people at all. It was among the unlettered that Luther found his chief following, although we hear of him first in the circles of the friends of Gansfoort and Erasmus. An advocate at the Hague, Cornelis Hoen, and the Utrecht rector, Hinne Rode, applied to Luther in the winter of 1520–1521 for light in regard to the question of the communion, and called his attention to the works of the great Groninger, which were read with amazement by the reformer. "Had I seen these earlier," he said, "my enemies might have asserted that Martin had taken all his thoughts from Wessel. The spirit of the two are so alike." The edition of Gansfoort's writings published at Wittenberg, 1521–1522, is the result of this introduction, and Luther came into friendly relations with the Netherland humanists, although he never approved their conception of the communion. These scholars also were in communication with Zwingli, and the Swiss opinions

regarding the communion seem to have originated more or less under Hoen's influence.

It was just this point that separated the Netherland reformers from the Lutherans, and although the name "Lutheran" remained the ordinary appellation given to the reformed congregations, they have been preferably called in our time "Sacramentists" or "Evangelicals," —"Sacramentists" as disciples of Zwingli's teaching in regard to the communion, "Evangelicals" to separate them from the Anabaptists. Both names were used occasionally as early as 1530.

Many Netherlanders visited the University of Wittenberg and became Luther's disciples. Among these was the prior of the Augustinians at Antwerp, Jacobus Praepositus, the Antwerp secretary Gnapheus, the learned friend of Erasmus, Nicholas van den Bosch, schoolmaster at Antwerp. Antwerp, especially the Augustinian cloister there, became a centre for the reformed ideas, whence they spread through the Netherlands, while Luther's works were earnestly read and reprinted in translation. The doctrines spread to the remotest Netherland cities and villages, carried by the merchants who visited the great cities, by the monks who travelled from convent to convent to make known the glad tidings, by the learned, between whom many letters passed, by the colporteurs who sold the writings of the reformers, by the preachers who lifted their voices as they journeyed from village to village, from city to city.

Thus the Augustinian convent at Dordrecht under the prior, Henry of Zutphen, became the home of heresy for Holland and the Sticht, as the convent at Antwerp was for Brabant and Flanders. For the North the city of Emden played the same part. Under the protection of Count Edzard the Great and his family, reformed ideas took root and this became a point of departure for the "Lutherie." The close political relations which existed

at this epoch between Emden and Friesland and Groningen proper militated to the extension of the new ideas in those provinces. In Guelders, too, the population were influenced by the vicinity of Wezel, where the reformation found many adherents owing to the connivance of the duke of Cleves and Jülich, who really was in sympathy with its ideas. In nearly all cities we find proofs of this intellectual and spiritual interest. Even episcopal Utrecht was affected, which is hardly astonishing considering the bishop there in charge.

And at the very beginning the government was not adverse to this movement, as is proved by the refusal given by the regent Margaret and her stadtholder of Holland and Zealand, Count Henry of Nassau, to the Dominican request to suppress heresy. This inclination of the government is shown, too, in the sharp criticism expressed by the regent Margaret in 1525 against the imprudence and immorality of the clergy. Still the movement was wide-spread, thanks to the vehement indignation aroused by the sale of indulgences, even before Luther had nailed his theses on the door of the Wittenberg chapel. The spirit of reform became so universal that in 1519 the government felt obliged to adopt stricter measures. A few heretics were prosecuted and an attempt was made to check the expression of their opinions by imprisonment. The Augustinians at Antwerp and Dordrecht were among the first to suffer, but the leniency evinced by some of the magistrates, themselves convinced of the justice of the movement in the face of prevailing abuses, and the attitude of the people toward the persecutions, occasionally expressed in violent outbreaks, were proofs that the suppression of heresy would be no easy matter.

At the time of his stay in the Netherlands in 1521, Charles V. published at Mechlin, on March 22d, a placard against Luther. At the pope's request, the em-

peror forbade the printing, publication, or reading of Luther's writings or those of his followers. Wherever discovered, they were to be burned by the public executioners, and those who opposed the enaction of this placard were to be punished with fines. This was the first proclamation against "Lutherie," and many others were destined to follow.

The manner in which the edict of Worms, issued against Luther shortly after, was published in the Netherlands, showed that Charles V. was then determined to suppress heresy in his hereditary possessions. He added to the edict a stringent order to all lay judges to proceed against sympathisers, adherents, and favourers of Luther. This was an important change. It was no longer an ecclesiastical but a lay measure to suppress heresy. No longer an ecclesiastical but a lay inquisition was intrusted with matters of belief. Previous to this edict, spiritual inquisitors, mainly Dominicans, had taken the matter in hand when there was a question of punishing heretical beliefs, of checking heretical preachers. There are many instances of their action, as for example in December, 1512, when they handed the heretic Herman of Ryswick, near the Hague, over to the arm of the law, which condemned him to be burned to death. This was a fixed rule: *Ecclesia non sitit sanguinem* (the church does not thirst for blood), but she gives heretics to secular jurisdiction. When the evil increased and ecclesiastical supervision proved inadequate, the power of the secular arm was extended. In the Netherlands, François van der Hulst was appointed head of the secular inquisition, on April 29, 1522. He was councillor of the court of Brabant, a stern and clever jurist, and was at the same time a zealous and devoted adherent of the church. He had already been prominent in opposition to the Augustinians of Antwerp. He was given unlimited authority and not restricted to existing forms of law. He was obliged to

have every sentence approved by Joost Laurenszoon, president of the great council at Mechlin, who was fully trusted by the government. But this limitation meant little to the inquisitor, as in the following year Adrian VI. made him papal inquisitor in general for the Netherland provinces of Emperor Charles and limited him only in his jurisdiction over ecclesiastics. This step was not agreeable to the emperor, who would have preferred keeping the whole matter of inquisition in his own hands. Thus at the outset authorities failed to agree, and, during his two years' office, van der Hulst was in opposition, not only to the provincial and local governments, who considered their privileges infringed by his appointment, but also to the central government and the Netherland clergy. His uncompromising nature, his violent character, his reckless encroachments on the rights of others, did not help him to accomplish his plans.

In 1524, van der Hulst was replaced by three papal inquisitors. They were ecclesiastics, but they obtained as little support as had van der Hulst from the Netherland clergy, who resented papal interference. The bishops especially complained of these unwished-for coadjutors in their own task of suppressing heresy in their dioceses. But in 1525 Clement VII. confirmed their power and definitely regulated their relation to the bishops. The forfeited revenues of heretics were no longer to be appropriated by the pope for use in the war against the Turks, but were to be diverted to the imperial treasury. The pope indeed refused the emperor's request, made in Rome as early as 1522, that a number of new bishoprics should be erected in the Netherlands. It is true that they might have been a strong force against heresy, but the pope feared they would also increase the imperial authority.

Following the emperor's example, vigorous measures against heresy were taken in the Sticht and Guelders. Church officials of Utrecht, Cambrai, and Liege, widely

differing as they did, were forced to yield their authority in one point after another. The majority were in sympathy with the emperor's behest, and the reformers of Guelders found a pitiless persecutor in Charles of Egmont, who adopted the inquisition in his duchy in accordance with a papal *indultum* of 1525.

Before 1525, the variance of opinion between the ecclesiastical and temporal power in regard to the inquisition, the secret leaning of many of the magistrates toward the new cult, the opposition of local governments to the inquisitorial courts, had all militated favourably for the reformers. But they were imprisoned and persecuted. The Augustinians of Antwerp and Dordrecht were especially hardly treated. The prison at the Hague was speedily filled to overflowing with prisoners from the Holland cities and villages; still many succeeded in escaping, and others were released with light penalties or after retraction of their heretical opinions. Meanwhile, the spirit of reform grew. It was spread by the refugees to Jülich, Cleves, Emden, and Bremen, and the Holy Inquisition began to think it needful to be more rigorous. On July 1, 1523, two Antwerpian Augustinians, Henry Voes and John Esch, were brought to Brussels and burned on the great square. The impression made by the death of these early martyrs was deep, both abroad and in the Netherlands. Luther dedicated a hymn[1] to

[1] Die Aschen will nicht lassen ab,
Sie stäubt in allen Landen.
Hie hilft kein Bach, Loch, Grub noch Grab
Sie macht den Feind zu schanden.
Die im Leben durch den Mord
Zu schweigen hat gedrungen,
Die muss er todt an allem Ort
Mit aller Stimm, und Zungen
Gar fröhlich lassen singen.

[1] *Ein Lied van den zween Märteren Christi zu Brussel van den Sophisten von Löven verbrannt*, Luther's *Werke*, Frankfürt, 1864, v., 56.

them, in which he declared that their ashes were not lost but would bear testimony to their faith, and his letter of condolence to "all dear brothers in Christ, especially those in Holland and Brabant and Flanders," in which he urges the persecuted to follow the example of the martyrs, was long one of the precious jewels of the Netherland reformers. Most courageously did they die, these first Protestant martyrs, with the "*Te Deum laudamus*" on their lips until their voices were stifled in the flames. Nor were these two all. The Dominican Jacob van Hoochstraten, who had once conducted the prosecution of Herman of Ryswick, caused the simple Utrecht cooper, William Dirks, to be burned in that city. In Holland, John Pistorius of Woerden, a priest, was the first martyr to suffer. He was burned on September 15, 1526, in the Binnenhof at the Hague, in the presence of the stadtholder of Holland, the three inquisitors, and a great number of important nobles, officials, and clergy. His last moments were illuminated by hymns sung to him by his comrades before the gratings of the old Gate Prison (*Gevangenpoort*), to which he responded with the Thirty-first Psalm until an iron band was put around his throat and the bag of powder was lighted on his breast, which deprived him of life before he was burnt to ashes "so that no memory more of him could linger." But the memory did live in the hearts of his followers, and his heroic death was honoured as that of a martyr to his belief.

After 1525, persecutions of heresy increased greatly on all sides. The obdurate were put to death; many were forced to recant, to pay heavy fines, to leave the country. Stringent stipulations were made in the placards against the spread of heretical books. A censorship of the press was established in Holland in 1524, and no book could be printed until a copy was approved by the stadtholder. Leaders and teachers were rigorously hunted out, and about 1530 the Netherland government could consider

that its work was fairly accomplished. Nearly all the leaders and teachers of the reformed faith had vanished.

But the judges were impotent to banish the spirit of reform. In spite of the ban, hundreds of prohibited books passed from hand to hand, and the New Testament was widely disseminated. Luther's version had been rendered into Dutch, and later the translation was corrected according to Erasmus' edition. Before this the Bible had been little read and never printed in its entirety. This was all changed. A large number of editions in the vernacular appeared in quick succession. There were four of the whole Bible and twenty-five of the New Testament in a space of eight years. Many other edifying works in the Protestant spirit found their way among the people. Good translations of Luther's writings were in frequent circulation and within the reach of all. Besides, the martyrs' blood was once more the seed of the church. The public executions awakened universal sympathy with the victims. The touching martyrs' songs, the Psalms that had given the last consolation to the sufferers became favourite songs of the people. Often these unskilled but striking melodies were heard in the inner chambers wherein hatred for the persecutors struggled with the love and reverence of the persecuted. Among these was a simple and touching hymn dedicated to Weyntjen Claes, the pious widow of Monnikendam, who was burned at the Hague in 1527.

Thus the spirit of reform was deeply rooted, especially in the northern Netherlands, where it had always been strongest. When the teachers and leaders of the Sacramentists had fallen or disappeared, then the great multitude comforted themselves with the writings concealed in closets from the bloodhounds of the inquisition, and were, moreover, exposed to the danger of uneducated guides, whose ideas were dangerous to peace and order. The leaders of the Sacramentists had been Lutheran, Zwing-

lian, Erasmian. Their revered masters were Luther, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Melanchthon, and even Erasmus. In their place came these others: Hofmann, David Joriszoon, later John of Leyden and his Münster followers, who wrapped themselves in mystical mantles of prophecy which seldom fail to affect the impressionable mass.

The very lack of skilled teachers gave the reformers greater inducement to devote themselves to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, the fountainhead of truth. whose ancient tales they received as prophecies now that the ancient church seemed on the verge of destruction. In their opinion this decay was the new birth, the prologue to the last days which the thousand years of peace and happiness would follow. Soon the Lord himself, the Messiah, would descend upon earth. Then they read the thrilling description of the Apocalypse, whose strange mysticism exerted a wonderful influence on the multitude now that the translations of the Bible were in frequent use. The philosophy of John the Evangelist carried conviction with it, the fervent lamentations of Jeremiah, the glowing prophecy of Isaiah, the touching simplicity of the first three gospels, all had a tremendous effect. The sermon on the mount with its glorification of the poor in spirit, the sketch of the simple community of the first Christians, took hold of the imagination of the ignorant, of the poor, and of the unhappy in spirit.

With the chiliastic expectations, with the hope, nay the conviction, of the speedy coming of the Messiah, there were allied ideas of the equality of the poor and rich, of the noble and simple, as taught in the most ancient writings of Christendom. Communistic ideas ran like wildfire among people quite ready for them. At the same time opposition to ceremonials, to sacraments, to saint worship, to all the usages of the ancient church, and to the priesthood became very fierce. These reformers

replaced the baptism of children by that of adults; the "bread-god" of the Catholic mass, as they termed it contemptuously, by the assembly of the faithful; for the sacrament of marriage, free alliances between man and woman; for the Catholic priesthood, the Protestant leader of the congregation, chosen from their midst. Zealous preachers, spiritual sons of the free spirits who had appeared in former times, travelled from village to village and spread the tale of the attempts already made in many districts of Germany to realise the millennium, of Carlstadt's strife, and of Thomas Müntzer's revolt. The result was the destruction of fanatical crowds of peasants and working people whose communistic principles made the devotees of the Lutheran and Zwinglian doctrine apprehensive of the upheaval of the order of society. The destruction of the German brethren aroused keen sympathy in the cities and villages of the Netherlands, where the people groaned under the burdens of daily life, under the oppressions of the sovereign. Thus the confederates of the faith, as they were in the habit of calling themselves, the Anabaptists as they were called by their opponents, increased in the northern provinces of the Netherlands, and the signs of Anabaptistic teachings became steadily more numerous. About 1530, the confederates appeared in Cleves and Jülich, in East Friesland, and in the Münster regions in great numbers, while the Loïsters at Antwerp about 1525, and other sympathisers were found at Maestricht and elsewhere. These Loïsters of Antwerp, the followers of Loy (Eligius Pruystinck, the slater), extended their fellowship to the Jorists, the adherents of the Delft glassmaker, David Joriszoon, and to the multitude which, about 1530, revered John Volkertszoon Trijpmaker at Amsterdam as their leader. They were all birds of a feather.

In 1530, Melchior Hofmann might be regarded as the leader of the Anabaptists in the provinces and elsewhere;

the eloquent furrier who travelled through Germany as a prophet and taught at Emden. He was banished thence from fear of the communistic teachings which his adherents hoped to see realised within a short time. He aroused Trijpmaker to greater activity, and the latter, who had assumed his task at Emden, soon gathered a body of disciples about him at Amsterdam. Hofmann, too, appeared there in 1531.

But these sects were handled without gloves by the authorities, and many were punished with death and banishment who were deemed dangerous to society. Trijpmaker fell in 1531; Hofmann took to flight and was captured at Strasburg in 1533. David Joriszoon, banished from Delft in 1528, wandered round for years preaching in secret, and finally went to north Germany, whence he sent back his writings to the provinces. Next to Trijpmaker, Jacob of Kampen became the leader of the Amsterdam community, which withstood the persecution bravely. In Amsterdam and elsewhere, especially in the country of Holland and Friesland, communities of confederates grew up, sometimes with the connivance of the government. In Holland alone there were thousands scattered in little communities and inspired by itinerant preachers. The events in the Münster region showed plainly the danger that threatened society from the Anabaptists.

The Haarlem baker, John Matthiaszoon, and the Leyden tailor, John Beukelzoon, in the winter of 1533–1534, when the persecutions in Holland were again very zealous, went with many followers to Münster, where a strong reformation movement began to be manifest, established themselves under the leadership of Rottmann, and Münster soon became the promised land of the Holland and Frisian Anabaptists. In the spring of 1534, people flocked thither, while John Matthiaszoon—already a very honoured prophet—soon posed as another Enoch, who was

to be the Messiah and establish the "kingdom of Zion."

The investment of the city by her bishop, who could count on the aid of the neighbouring Protestant princes, all apprehensive of the destruction of existing conditions, awakened a violent agitation among the confederates. From Münster came emissaries who journeyed through the northern Netherlands and urged their kindred in belief to come to the aid of the threatened sovereignty of the "children of Zion." John Matthiaszoon and his successor in the leadership, John Beukelzoon, did not cease to goad on the Anabaptists. Among the emissaries a certain John of Geelen, a courageous spirit, took a prominent place. These zealots were successful indeed in rousing a violent uprising among the confederates who had remained behind in Holland and Friesland, an uprising which was suppressed with difficulty, and lasted two years in spite of great stringency.

In 1534, a multitude of these people started for Hasselt and Genemuiden on foot and by boat, but were for the most part scattered by the vigorous measures taken against them at Kampen and elsewhere; an attack on *Oldeklooster* in Friesland, under the leadership of John of Geelen, was repulsed by the government troops; various attacks upon the Amsterdam Anabaptists were defeated; hundreds of Anabaptists were taken prisoners and many put to death—in April and May, 1534, more than a hundred perished, one after another. Finally, in the summer of 1535, the mad reign of John of Leyden came to an end, the "king of Zion" with his men fell, and the Münster agitation was gradually appeased; but still the dread of Anabaptist disturbances induced sharp persecution, which was aided by the local officials, terrified lest anarchy should prevail. The fear of revolt among the people shows plainly how wide-spread were the Anabaptist doctrines, and the persecution of Anabaptists dragged on for years.

Communistic ideas fell gradually into the background: the fanatical zealots of the Münster period were replaced by more moderate spirits, like Dirk and Obbe Philips in Friesland, like the former pastor of Witmarsum, Menno Simonszoon, whose activity in Friesland and Holland began to be effective in the years between 1537 and 1543. Later he journeyed through the country along the North German coast, and up to his death in 1559 repeatedly visited the numerous little Frisian and Holland communities, helping them by his preaching, though he was under the ban of the government. These teachings were no longer dangerous, but nevertheless the government continued rigorous persecutions of the sect, dreading the influence of their theories upon society.

The Anabaptists furnished the majority of the martyrs who gave up their lives for their belief during these years, and the stringent placards of the reign of Charles V. are chiefly directed against them.

How large, in truth, was the number of martyrs? That it never reached the figure of one hundred thousand, or even fifty thousand, which is usually accepted on the ground of a statement of Hugo de Groot and an expression of William of Orange in his apology, is indeed certain. These figures really comprise a greater number than the reformed congregations in their entirety. If the martyrs' books be accepted, the sum of sufferers barely reaches a thousand. But admitting that even the last figure—probably not far from the truth—is still too high, it is certain that thousands and thousands were persecuted and punished, either by light or severe imprisonment, or by fines, or by scourging or public exposure or other corporal punishment, by virtue of the severe edicts of the emperor. Between the years 1521 and 1555 a dozen stringent placards were issued, directed not only against the heretics but also against heretical books, for the inspection of which a sharp censure was established that

hit the mark even less than did the persecution of the heretics. Especially famous is the "blood-placard" of 1550, with its frightful penalties—"to wit, the men shall be executed with the sword and the women buried," while the obstinate were burned alive. An index of prohibited books was published in 1546, and added to later. Still, severe as the placards sound, although merciless judges like François van der Hulst, Dr. Rieuwerd Tapper of Enkhuizen, "the first and supreme persecutor of the Christians in the Netherlands," and all the numerous under-inquisitors who coöperated with them in order to prove that the branding-iron and the scaffold were the best means of uprooting heresy—although these officers would have liked to carry out the edicts to the full, still they often remained dead letters.

In Brabant the inquisition was almost wholly rejected, immunity being claimed by right of the ancient privileges. In Friesland it was only introduced temporarily, in Guelders not until after 1550, and never completely in Groningen and the surrounding country. In the remaining provinces the authorities opposed it to the utmost, especially in Holland.

Thus in many districts the heretics were virtually unmolested and were free to pursue their avocations quietly in both country and city. Many nobles and clergy studied at Wittenberg or at other universities tainted with heresy,—at Geneva, Heidelberg, Strasburg,—and later preached the reformed gospel unhindered, especially in the Frisian villages. In Groningen the moderate teaching of the disciples of Gansfoort and Erasmus prevailed, and the people were protected by the ecclesiastical order of about 1530, which later received repeated confirmations. The government of William of Jülich in Guelders was favourable for the congregations in the province. Much advantage was hoped from the alliance of the duke with the princes of the League of Schmalkalden. Even

in Holland one Angelus Merula, Engel van Merlen, the noble and learned pastor of Heenvliet, worked for long years in an evangelical spirit until he was seized in 1553 by the inquisition, and only escaped the stake by death four years later after frightful tortures. On the Veluwe, John Verstege preached the Protestant doctrine, which, indeed, he was forced to renounce. He emigrated, however, and published many pamphlets under the name of Anastasius Veluanus. The performance of the rhetoricians gave frequent occasion for serious complaints from the clergy and from the inquisition on account of heretical expressions. The so-called land-jewel of Ghent in 1539 is a famous instance.

There was, in truth, little sympathy for the old church among the populace. The figure of one Anna Bijns, a passionate zealot who declaimed against the "cursed Lutheran sect," about 1530, stands almost alone in the Romish literature of those days, and the writings of the defenders of the ancient teaching, both in form and contents, are very far below those of its assailants. Above all it was the many exiles who sent passionate pleas for their faith back to their fatherland. In Emden and Norden and other places of East Friesland many of the persecuted, especially from the northern provinces, found a refuge under the protection of the counts who had adopted Lutheranism more or less openly. Count Edzard allowed all his people to learn what they wished, if only peace were maintained, and his son Enno followed his example. Aportanus from Zwolle, Hardenberg from Groningen, and a number of others sought refuge under his leniency. The passionate Pole, John à Lasco, led the reform movement here after 1540, which was continued under the dowager Countess Anna no less vigorously and was directed against the Anabaptists. In 1548, à Lasco had to leave, but Emden remained a refuge for persecuted Netherlanders. It was the case, too, in Bremen, where

the Augustinian Henry of Zutphen found refuge on his flight from Antwerp, like Jacob Praepositus and many other refugees for their faith. Others established themselves at Wezel, famous as a nest of heresy, in Cologne under the protection of the archbishops, at Heidelberg and Frankenthal, in the Palatinate, where Calvinism was adopted by the reigning family; also at Frankfort and Hanau, at Strasburg, and in other imperial cities. In Prussia, too, where Gnapheus and others took refuge, the influence of the Netherland reformers was apparent.

Not less important was the emigration to England. In 1544 settlements were made at London, later at Norwich and other places on the east coast, by numbers of Netherlanders—mainly Flemings—and the English government gave them protection. This was especially the case about 1550, at the time of Edward VI. In 1560 the emigrants were reckoned at not less than ten thousand. The Fleming, John of Utenhove, John à Lasco, Micron, and others taught there. Lasco organised a congregation here also, as he did in East Friesland. It was in England that Utenhove wrote the first confession of faith in the Netherland tongue (1551) and translated the East Frisian Catechism. These writings were eagerly read by those also who remained in the Netherlands and did good service in the secret organisation of the church.

Under the leadership of Utenhove and à Lasco the London community was based on Calvinism. The French leader had gained great influence in the land of his birth, in Geneva, and in the Palatinate, and his doctrines varied from Luther's and Zwingli's teaching in important points. He exercised, too, a marked influence on the English ecclesiastical movement. From England and France, Calvinism spread into the Netherlands and pushed aside the teaching of Luther and Zwingli, and of David Joriszoon and Menno Simonszoon.

The new doctrine found a fertile soil in the Walloon

country, spread by French and Walloon preachers. The first preaching was in South Flanders. In 1545, Pierre Brully, one of the foremost leaders of Calvinism, was burned at the stake, but left many followers. The Huguenot preachers escaped secretly from north France into Flanders and Hainaut, and proclaimed the new gospel to crowded assemblies in out-of-the-way spots.

Guy de Bray, who returned from England about 1552, was the best known of these ministers who defied stake and scaffold. After the peace of Cateau-Cambresis, when a cessation of hostilities facilitated communication with France, a great number of preachers emigrated, followed by a number of Netherlanders. Pérégrin de la Grange, Saravia, Taffin, Junius, Moded, Dathenus, Herdmann, Heidanus, are among the famous names that then came to the fore. About 1560, the Calvinistic preaching spread, too, in Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, although the headquarters were still in Flanders and Hainaut. Calvinistic congregations sprang up in Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Tournay, Ypres, and Valenciennes. The aversion to the Lutheran doctrine in regard to the communion contributed to the dissemination of Calvinism. The confession of faith, drawn up by Guy de Bray in 1559 on the French model, printed and disseminated two years later, induced a unity of creed in the different communities which adopted it and the Heidelberg Catechism (translated by Dathenus in 1563) as guides.

Thus by 1560 there were three theological movements active against the Roman Catholic Church in the Netherlands; the original Sacramentism, which cherished the teachings of Luther and Zwingli, but which weakened under rigid persecutions and was merged in the moderate Erasmian opinions of the majority of the magistrates and learned men; Anabaptism, that also weakened under the pressure of persecution or changed into the more moderate conception of Menno Simonszoon and his followers,

and held its own with difficulty in the country districts of North Holland and Friesland; finally Calvinism, attractive to the lower classes rather than to the well-to-do citizens from its democratic spirit. It was not as dangerous in this regard as Anabaptism, but still was thought to have certain anarchistic tendencies. Calvinism soon overshadowed the two other movements.

The government of Philip II. perceived that the placards really availed little against the steadily increasing heresy. With all possible zeal, the inquisitors of the period, Sonnius, Lindanus, Titelman, Vincent Dirkszoon, and a host of others, were as little able to root out heresy as their predecessors of the former reign. King Philip resumed the plan of a reorganisation of the Netherland church by a number of new bishoprics. It was clear that the existing organisation was not vigorous enough to accomplish the desired end, which was more desirable than ever after the council of Trent (1545–1563), that is, improvement of the existing abuses in the church itself.

Reformation was desired — not quite to the degree wished for by Erasmus and his followers, but still in the same direction. Reformation in the head and members, as the councils of the fifteenth century had planned, reshaping of the ancient dogmas, and, above all, improvement in the spirit ruling the clergy—that was the aim of the fathers of the council of Trent, that was the aim of the supreme party in the church. Philip took the advice of Dr. Sonnius and various high nobles and officials, among whom were the Marquis of Bergen and the famous jurist Viglius, and opened negotiations with the Roman curia, which were crowned with success. The popes Paul IV. and Pius IV. reorganised the church in the Netherlands according to the royal proposition (1559–1561). The land was divided into three bishoprics: Mechlin, as the see of the primacy, with the bishoprics of Antwerp, Bois-le-Duc, Ghent, Ypres, Bruges, and

Roermond; Cambrai, with the bishoprics of Arras, Tournay, Namur, and St. Omer; Utrecht, with the bishoprics of Haarlem, Deventer, Leeuwarden, Middelburg, and Groningen. Liege remained in old Limburg, and some portions of Brabant and Namur retained their supremacy; in Luxemburg the former conditions of division among the adjoining bishoprics were preserved. In the North the ancient rights of Münster and Osnabrück were not infringed for the time being. From this time on, the bishops were to be presented by the sovereign to the papal see for appointment, and their revenues were provided from one or more abbeys in their diocese. Great was the commotion caused by these changes, desirable in themselves. There was especial distaste to the financial demands of the curia. These had leaked out before they were consummated, so that the opponents had an opportunity to rouse public opinion against them; and the opponents were many from many different causes.

The superior nobles, who had hitherto controlled by their influence in the chapters the chief dignitaries, were displeased at seeing royal power come to the fore in episcopal appointments. The lords plainly perceived that the bishops, owing their elevation to the prince and thus dependent on him and having a seat in the provincial Estates, would materially strengthen sovereign power in those assemblies.

The abbots of the ceded abbeys were naturally not pleased at an unasked-for disposition of their property. The existing bishops saw their power circumscribed to a smaller territory, even though they might gain the archbishop's title. Reformers with Erasmian ideas feared an increase of persecution—a not unnatural fear, for this persecution and the sovereign power in ecclesiastical affairs were in truth chief motives for the new establishment. Still more bitterness was awakened by the elevation of the hated statesman of the regent, Anthony Perrenot, to

the archbishopric of Mechlin. Later he was made a cardinal, a promotion also not pleasing to the government. There was some fear, too, lest Philip might introduce the Spanish inquisition into the provinces, something which he never thought of.

The opposition prevented an immediate adoption of the measures, and the events of the following year were not suited to afford an opportunity for so doing. The plan increased the prevailing agitation, and clouds gathered from all sides. The ancient church in the Netherlands had received a severe shock during the forty years in which heretical opinions had developed in various phases. Neither the execution of the placards nor the inquisition nor the improvement in ecclesiastical organisation had accomplished their ends, and the lovers of the ancient faith asked anxiously whither it was all tending. As the adherents of the ancient faith grew anxious, the reformed took courage; the persecutions strengthened conviction on the one hand, and on the other increased the bitterness of the growing body of Calvinists. Many signs of the seething state of society began to be manifest, and the Spanish troops on the borders were delayed in their departure for their native peninsula. Who knew how soon they might be needed? The events of 1558 in Rotterdam at an execution, when the people rescued several Anabaptists destined for the stake from the schepen and his men, were proofs that there might be a limit to endurance.

In Guelders the Count van den Bergh and the Lord of Keppel were well-known heretics and replaced the ancient ceremonials of the church at their castles by protestant sermons and the new heretical fashion of singing German Psalms.

In Friesland, at Easter, 1558, thousands abstained from communion, according to the report of the inquisitor Lindanus. At Dokkum not one-half the population

appeared at church for that ceremony. In other places about a third or a tenth. Elsewhere the people evinced great sympathy with reform, even when they did not adopt the tenets. And meanwhile the inquisitors continued their persecutions, the judges gave sentence, the racks tortured their victims, the fagots burned, and the martyrs fell. How long still ?

CHAPTER XII

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN THE BURGUNDIAN PERIOD

THAT the Netherland provinces played so great a part in the history of the world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is owing not only to their union under one sovereign, but also to the development of commerce and industry, which deserves careful consideration. One factor that aided in this development was the geographical situation of the Netherlands, which made them naturally a centre of commerce. Here were the mouths of the great rivers: in the first place the "great prince of European streams," along which floated the commerce of Germany; then the Scheldt, the channel for exports from fruitful Flanders and Brabant; the Meuse, which played the same part in Brabant, Liege, and Limburg. The voyage to Denmark was about five or six days, to the Spanish ports from six to fifteen, to Lisbon ten. Under favourable circumstances Norway could be reached in two days and the English coast and the nearest French harbours in several hours.

Not all the provinces of the Netherlands developed in the same way or to the same degree. Flanders and Brabant took the first rank both in commerce and in manufacture. Next came Holland and Zealand. Friesland and Groningen were less important, as were the Overyssel and Guelders cities on the Zuyder Zee, while the country provinces took a low rank in this regard.

Liege retrograded in importance after the fall of the Liege cities in the days of Charles the Bold. And commerce and industry naturally always find their quarters in the cities. The country was devoted to agriculture, and the cities hindered the development of manufacturing in the country, each city in its own environs. Thus the history of the development of commerce and industry at this period is that of municipal development. Within the city wall there was a steadily increasing population who no longer, as formerly, found its livelihood in farming in the neighbourhood, but was occupied exclusively in commerce and manufacture. Nor were these activities limited to the needs of one market. They developed to trade on a large scale, to manufacture in great quantities, in some cities to world-wide trade, to world manufacture.

This was the case in Flanders and Brabant at an early date. Already in the twelfth century Flanders had experienced a municipal development of growing importance to the trade of West Europe, which made the Flemish capitals the most important places in the countries on the North Sea. The thirteenth century increased the significance of the Flemish towns, but the troubles of the fourteenth affected their prosperity; the sovereignty of the Burgundian ruler, however, brought back much of the old commercial reputation. Under the protection of an influential European prince, the Flemish cities were enabled to hold their own in the competition with the English and Hanseatic towns, and the peace and quiet that was gradually acquired under a vigorous sovereign furthered the welfare of the Flemish cities as well as that of the rest of the provinces.

Unfortunately, in the fifteenth century nature interposed an obstacle to the prosperity of the cities. Up to the fourteenth century, Bruges was still the great port of the region, the headquarters of German and English merchants and the emporium of Flemish wares. In 1432 her

traffic began to be seriously affected by the fact that the Zwin, her waterway to the sea, was gradually obstructed with sand. Year after year the trouble increased. Not only Bruges but Damme and Sluis were rendered virtually inaccessible to sea going ships, "to the total destruction and perdition of Flanders." And the jealousy of the other Flemish cities prevented the adoption of vigorous measures against this menacing danger. They repeatedly refused to coöperate in remedial measures, declaring that industry and farming had little to do with navigation. The vigorous intervention of Charles the Bold forced some coöperation, but the confusion after his death, especially after the Hook pirates established themselves at Sluis, put an end to the efforts. So the filling up of the river was not overcome, and Bruges' commerce went rapidly to pieces.

The city that had seen Venice's trading fleets sail up to her gates was in a state of deterioration by the middle of the fifteenth century. Where English, Scotch, and Spanish wool and French wines, damask, scented woods, and jewels of the Levant, grain from France and from the Baltic, furs from Russia, wood from Scandinavia, iron from Spain, and silk from Italy, had all streamed together, where, in the midst of commerce, money transactions, too, reached a high state of development, and where the advantage of credit had been learned, decay had set in, and at about 1500 there was a mere shadow of former strength. The burghers still showed signs of wealth, their homes were still furnished in luxury, but their quays were for the most part deserted, grass grew on the formerly busy streets, the watchmen stood dreaming in the city gates formerly crowded with hundreds of drays jostling each other and disputing the right of way. The Bruges people endeavoured to avert impending ruin, and to persuade the English, Scotch, German, and Spanish merchants not to leave their city.

After the capture of Calais by the English in 1347, that city had become the staple town for the English wool trade. For about half a century, the English government wavered between Bruges and Calais from fear of embittering the Flemings, to whom they wished to show respect out of opposition to France, but finally preference was given to their own port across the channel. At Calais the "mayor" was at the head of a strong commercial union; there were the great wool and cloth storehouses; there the merchants were protected by extreme privileges; there the English government kept a strict supervision over taxes and prices. After the close of the fourteenth century, Calais became the place where the Netherland buyers of English wool came to purchase raw material for their *draperies*. From all the Netherland, Brabant, Holland, Flemish cities, flocked the cloth merchants or their agents. Besides this commerce at Calais, English traders, the so-called merchant adventurers, united into a vigorous organisation, also drove a good trade in the Netherlands. Bruges tried to hold on to these merchants who accepted little authority but themselves, these pioneers of English trade, by granting them especial privileges. In the same way attempts were made to win over the Hanseatic league, the Scots, and the Spaniards. But all these efforts booted little; the shallows of the Zwin cut off commerce from Bruges, and in the beginning of the fifteenth century we find the merchant adventurers at Antwerp, although they still occasionally chose Bruges as a place of residence.

Philip the Fair did his best to help the Flemish city, mainly for the purpose of obliterating the impression made by his father's unpopular administration. Maximilian had always hated the city where he had once been a prisoner. In 1498 Philip visited the unfortunate town and saw the impending ruin. He gave orders that all trade with foreigners should be transacted

there, except that plied at the great fairs of Antwerp, Bergen op Zoom, Middelburg, etc. Then, too, he gave many privileges to the foreign merchants at Bruges. But the shallows in the Zwin remained a serious obstruction and diverted trade. Philip also took measures to clear the river. All in vain. There was a plan, too, to connect Bruges by a canal with the sea, but it came to nothing. Merchants gradually deserted the town. Protection and privileges counted for nothing against the difficulty of communication. The English were the first to go, in 1512 the Scots followed, and in 1545 the Hanse representatives did the same. The Spaniards were the last merchants left.

The inheritance of Bruges fell to the share of Antwerp, advantageously situated as it was on the broad Scheldt. It was quite prepared to reap advantages from the misfortune of Bruges. Middelburg, Dordrecht, and Bergen op Zoom, too, all rejoiced in the fall of a rival, but Antwerp was best fitted to take its place. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the city took great strides, and half a century later it was the richest mercantile city of Europe, its inhabitants numbering more than 100,000 souls, to which a floating population of about half that number must be added. Rich merchants made it the most luxurious town of the world. The counting-houses of the great Florentine, Genoese, and German bankers, the Pazzi, the Dorias, the Fuggers, made it the centre of the European bourse. Important privileges offered to foreign merchants attracted them thither in large numbers. But above all it was the excellent harbour facilities which assured the city her prosperity, and Antwerp succeeded Bruges as the "common town of all nations" of Europe. Five hundred ships sailed in and out of her port in one day. Sometimes 2500 were to be seen in the river at the same time. More than 2000 freight waggons came weekly into the gates

from France and Germany, richly laden with articles of commerce. The bourse was visited daily by 5000 merchants. The sum turned over in trade yearly was reckoned at about one and one half milliards. "I was sad at the sight of Antwerp, for I saw Venice surpassed," says a Venetian ambassador. The great development of navigation to India and to America soon gave Antwerp commerce a far wider range than Bruges had ever enjoyed. Both the Spaniard Calvete d'Estrella and the Italian Guicciardini mention the splendour of the Brabantine metropolis, "which like the sun itself has no equal," as Dante had once sung of Bruges.

In comparison with Antwerp, the other cities of the southern Netherlands were nothing. Flanders had gone backwards. Ghent, the centre of a rich corn district, still had a considerable trade in grain. Flax brought some business, and the flax-spinners of Flanders were still noted, but where was the prosperous traffic in cloth that had made Ghent famous in earlier times? In the thirteenth century England was still nothing more than an uncultivated, barbaric land, where foreign merchants transacted business, where the products of agriculture and cattle-raising were carried off by traders to their own country to be manufactured. By the fourteenth century another stage of progress was reached. By the time of Edward III. and Henry IV. both English commerce and manufacture had risen, especially the wool industry and the manufacture of cloth. The English were no longer "the creators of Flanders." At the time of the Flemish troubles, hundreds of weavers and spinners emigrated across the North Sea, attracted by the privileges offered them by the English government. English cloth was soon ranked as high as Flemish. It became very difficult for the Flemings to obtain raw material. They tried to use the inferior Scotch wool, but this injured the quality of their cloth and assured the

preference of the English product. English cloth crowded the chief markets of Flanders at about 1520. From thirty to forty thousand pieces were sold annually. Spanish wool was of an inferior quality and no adequate substitute. Flemish *draperie* lost its reputation, and with the reputation of their cloth the other cities decayed: Ghent, Ypres, Courtrai and smaller places, once rivals of larger towns. Ypres, whose population in 1400 was reckoned at eighty to one hundred thousand people (possibly exaggerated), with three or four thousand looms, could only show six thousand inhabitants and thirty workshops at about 1490. The same causes were everywhere at work: mutual jealousy, municipal quarrels, civil wars, English competition, and difficulty of obtaining raw material.

It was only in the finest kind of cloth that Flemish industry succeeded in holding its own. There were dangerous rivals to be sure in the towns of Brabant. Louvain was in as bad a situation as Bruges, or worse. In 1523 the population threatened to desert the city, and their condition was only improved by the artificially fostered improvement in the beer manufacture in the middle of the century. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Brussels and Mechlin laces were as highly prized as true Valenciennes. Not less famous were the Flemish and Brussels carpets, highly esteemed throughout Europe. But by the middle of the century, all these industries fell off and had to be aided by stringent protective measures. Nor could the cloth-weaving maintain itself. On the other hand, Brussels jewelry, Namur leather work, Mons cloths, Liege weapons, the yellow copper utensils of Dinant and Namur, the stone blocks of Liege and Luxemburg, were much prized articles of commerce. In the sixteenth century the beer industry grew greatly in importance in many southern cities, thanks to heavy protection which facilitated competition

with foreign lands. Louvain, Mechlin, Brussels, Tournay, and Ghent became the headquarters of this industry, which was suppressed as far as possible in the country. Wine traffic, too, flourished in many cities of the South, while the herring was the chief article of commerce in the Flemish seaboard places.

In Holland and Zealand the herring industry was at its best. From 1400 on, when the curing of herrings was first introduced, this trade flourished. At the end of the century it formed the chief means of subsistence in the little Holland coast towns and villages.[1] Enkhuizen and Hoorn took the lead. Flanders possessed 100 of the 700 herring-boats of the Netherlands in 1562, Zealand 200, Holland 400, and the latter were large boats. According to the contemporary Hadrianus Junius (1560) the prosperity of Holland was mainly dependent upon the success of the herring fishery, the more so as thousands supported themselves by boat-building, net-making, etc.

In general, however, it can be said that, from the middle of the fourteenth century, these two provinces in many respects vied with Flanders and Brabant, if they did not surpass them, as far as concerns the development of commerce and industry. It is true that in the thirteenth century, next to fishing, agriculture was the chief occupation and foreign trade took a subordinate place, but this was changed in the fourteenth century. It was not trade with England but that with the Baltic which was the most important. It was virtually as the government had declared in 1438, that Holland and Zealand were wholly built up on trade.

There was another great difference between the growth of commerce in Flanders and Brabant and in the northern Netherlands. The Flemings and Brabanters sold mainly their own products to foreign merchants, or, if they

[1] *Enqueste* of 1494 and *Informacie*, 1514.

bought foreign wares for trading purposes, they seldom carried them farther than Calais after the establishment of the staple there. The merchants of the North, on the other hand, were well used to the sea and were courageous voyagers at that. Thus it resulted that Bruges and Antwerp, like Novgorod, London, and Bergen in Norway, became simple counting-houses of the Hanse, where the Hanseatic merchants traded on foreign soil both with the Flemings and with the Genoese and Venetians who also flocked thither. The North Netherland cities, on the contrary, were themselves honourable members of the Hanse. Groningen, the Frisian cities, Zwolle, Deventer, Kampen, Harderwijk, Zutphen, Amsterdam, had a large share in the Hanse trade, while other places, Utrecht, Arnhem, Nimwegen, Dordrecht, Zierikzee, Middelburg appeared occasionally as members of the mighty commercial union.

The relation between the Netherland cities and those on the Baltic was often very strange. The former were not only allies but, in a certain sense, rivals of the Prussian and Wendish towns. In as far as the Prussians and Wends brought products from Russia, Poland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms to London and Bruges, the Netherland merchants also appeared as transporters of these goods. They did not limit themselves to the transport of the products of the Netherlands to the Hanse counting-houses, but sailed to the Baltic to carry Netherland wares and to bring back return cargoes either to their own provinces or to London and to Bruges. Thus the North Netherland merchants became freight-carriers on the North and Baltic seas and rivals of the Hanse cities proper on the Baltic coasts, a relation that gave rise to difficulties in the end of the fourteenth century and became very strained in the fifteenth.

About 1370 Amsterdam began to come to the fore, over a century after the merchants of Groningen and the

cities of Overyssel and Friesland had traded all along the Baltic. A capital harbour made Amsterdam the most important mercantile city of North Netherland by the middle of the fifteenth century. In the war of the Hanse (1438–1441) the name of the city became renowned. This war was the result of the rivalry between the merchants on the Baltic. From the end of the fourteenth century the Hanse was involved in difficulties. The union of Kalmar (1397), which united the three Scandinavian kingdoms under one prince, dealt a formidable blow to the domination of the Hanse in the North. The spoils system which had been pursued by the united cities in relation to the princes at sword points with each other ceased and the kings of the union made their power felt. A check was given to the piracy of the *victualie broeders* on the coast, to their raids upon the Hanse towns. Internal discord was one of the reasons why the prosperity of the Hanse began to wane in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Hamburg and Cologne, Dantzig and Königsberg, complained of the insufferable assumption of Lübeck. The Holland cities, too, were loud in their plaints, and there was an attempt to shut them out of the Baltic. In the Hanse assembly of 1418 a resolution was adopted which was really directed against the Hollanders, forbidding entry into the Baltic to wares not purchased in a Hanse town. This resolution caused the Hollanders to ally themselves with the Danes against the Baltic towns.

The quarrels lasted for years, and there was constant intriguing and privateering on both sides, but when Philip the Good united Holland and Zealand under his sovereignty in 1428, the provinces were able to count on protection from a powerful hand. Ere long the Holland cities, with Amsterdam at the head, united in opposing the pretensions of the Baltic towns, and in 1438, open war broke out, which the mediatory efforts of Deventer and

other places on the Zuyder Zee were powerless to prevent. Hostilities lasted for three years, and Amsterdam and Holland usually had the advantage, thanks to the efforts of the Holland and Zealand cities, which maintained forty-five large ships of war besides a number of privateers. These cruisers won such a reputation that from this time on the Hollanders and Zealanders were famous as sailors. The Oosterlings were so hard pressed that the victorious Hollanders fixed a broom on the prow of their vessels as a token that they had swept the sea before them of their enemies.

The Peace of Copenhagen (1441) brought about a ten years' truce that was greatly to the advantage of the Holland cities.

From that date the Hollanders stood opposed to the Hanse, as an independent power which gradually eclipsed the old alliance of the North and Baltic seas. The sailors and ships of Holland surpassed those of the Hanse in all respects, and the Holland merchants displayed such indomitable energy that they outshone their rivals.

There was a new outbreak in 1471, arising from the discontent of the Hanse towns at the way in which Holland merchants constantly beat them on their own ground and especially to the prejudice of the staple at Bruges. There are repeated accounts of privateering and skirmishes on both sides, followed by negotiations at Utrecht, Deventer, Münster, and elsewhere.

Commerce and manufactures both suffered severely in the confusion after the death of Charles the Bold, as is shown by the *Enqueste* established for Holland (1494), which had reference to a new regulation of the land tax in the province. There was universal complaint among both merchants and manufacturers that times were hard in the Sticht, in Guelders and Overyssel, in Friesland. Groningen alone enjoyed a prosperous trade.

Under Philip the Fair the outlook was brighter. At

about 1510 the Hollanders and Zealanders were the chief traders between the Mediterranean and the Baltic. Their ships actually penetrated the sea of ice, and they were the first, too, to sail as far as Cape Verde (1528). Good commercial privileges were granted in England, Scandinavia, and France, and Holland commerce took rank with that of Flanders and Brabant, while Antwerp found a rival in Amsterdam. Groningen suffered greatly from the insecurity in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the prosperity of the cities of Friesland, Guelders, and Overyssel was seriously affected by the wars in Guelders, with the accompanying privateering on the Zuyder Zee. Groot Pier and his followers, too, were a great scourge to Amsterdam, but the city succeeded in suppressing their raids.

The Holland cities had little more to fear from the Hanse. Their commerce had been seriously retarded about 1520 under the troublous government of Christian II. In 1533 Lübeck made one vigorous effort to crush the supremacy of Holland but was curbed in her efforts by the state of affairs in Denmark and Sweden, in conjunction with her own civil disturbances. The other Hanseatic cities had already played their rôle to the end, and the commerce of the Baltic was virtually left in the hands of Amsterdam, which succeeded in reaping profit from the mutual hostility of the kings of Denmark and Sweden. Her chief anxiety was to keep the Sound open for her ships.

In the sixteenth century Amsterdam's commerce far exceeded that of the other northern cities of the Netherlands, and by the end of the reign of Emperor Charles the town on the Y numbered about forty thousand inhabitants. In the year 1400 Dordrecht was the most influential city in Holland; in the sixteenth century it was entirely overshadowed by Amsterdam. Guicciardini (1560) ranks Amsterdam next to Antwerp. Twice a year

two or three hundred vessels came there from the Baltic laden with grain. In comparison with the twenty-five hundred ships lying off Antwerp, five hundred were to be seen in the Y. These mainly belonged to Amsterdam itself, and grain was the chief cargo, but besides its traffic in grain and herring Holland began to be known for its trade in cloth, the raw material of which, the wool, was brought from Calais, Bruges, and Antwerp through the Scheldt by way of Bergen op Zoom to Rotterdam, and from there along the Holland canals to Delft, Leyden, Gouda, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. In the fifteenth century Leyden was the seat of a flourishing cloth trade sustained by a prosperous cloth manufacture. Leyden cloths gained the reputation in the European markets which had formerly been enjoyed by Frisian cloths. They crowded out the ordinary makes of Flemish weave, although they could not equal the finer Flemish grade. This manufacture was jealously fostered. There were wardens at the head of the *draperie*, and the drapers were subject to a severe supervision by the guilds, based on the guild statutes of the fourteenth century, now largely extended. The revolts and tumults in the guilds were rigorously suppressed under the Burgundian sovereignty, here as in Flanders, and measures were taken to preserve the cloth industry from the ills which had contributed to its decay in Flanders, but of course the guild disturbances were not wholly without their injurious results.

Then came English competition and difficulties laid in the way of foreign drapers by the English government, against which the protective measures of the government at Brussels were but partially effective. War with France, the troubles in the North, where was a considerable market of the cloth trade, the insecurity on the Zuyder Zee caused by the Guelders-Frisian war,—all this led to decay in the Holland cloth trade, which had really reached its climax in the middle of the fifteenth century, and

never regained what it had once lost. Beer was the next most flourishing industry, and the butter and cheese trade took an unprecedented rise in the sixteenth century on the increase of the Holland shipping.

The general statement may be made that by the sixteenth century Holland could be reckoned as the most important province in the Netherlands next to Flanders and Brabant. Her advantageous situation at the mouth of the great rivers, her excellent canals which crossed the province in all directions, her fine harbours and dikes, her dense, enterprising population, her important cities, her rich meadows, all offered evidence of prosperity which would assure the province a permanent position in the Netherlands under a good government. United to a less rich and less coherent but still enterprising province like Zealand, whose chief population consisted of rough sailors, Holland was undoubtedly the first province in the North.

Friesland, weakened by long feuds, could not be compared with Holland. Her harbours were afflicted, too, with the same disaster as that experienced by Bruges and Sluis, and from the beginning of the fifteenth century Stavoren and Dokkum could hardly be reckoned as trading stations. Not until 1526, when George Schenck of Toutenburg had finally succeeded in suppressing the feuds with an iron hand, could the tormented land draw a free breath. But the growth of alluvial land on the coast of the Zuyder Zee and in the shoals practically destroyed Frisian trade with England and the Baltic. The majority of the Hanse towns of Guelders and Overyssel, among them Kampen at the mouth of the Yssel, suffered the same fate and tried to make up in manufacture what they had lost in commercial facilities. Thus these places became country towns instead of merchant cities, and the rôle which they had played in the Hanse became part of the history of past days and past economic conditions.

Groningen, which had reached the flood-tide of her commercial prosperity in the fifteenth century, could not hold her own against Amsterdam, although she still continued to reap advantage from her good canal to the Lauwers and from her central position in Friesland. But the commerce of the North Netherland towns became more and more a domestic commerce with Amsterdam, the trade centre of the northern towns, as Antwerp was of the southern.

The condition of coinage and of finance in general was closely allied to commerce. Coinage was a very weak point in the social system, but just at the time of Charles V. and under the influence of the increasing commerce and the importance of the traffic, of international traffic especially, attention began to be given to the subject. Men began to understand what an important part coinage played in traffic and the delicacy of the relations between the medium of exchange and the exchange itself.

At the time of Maximilian there were most singular attempts to regulate the value of the currency. One of the greatest grievances of the Netherlands against the first regency of this prince was the recklessness with which the problem was handled. For example, in 1489, the worth of money was suddenly decreased thirty-three per cent. by a government ordinance. The intention was to put an end to confusion in the circulation, but the result was disastrous. The difficulties resulted in part from the great wars and civil conflicts, from unregulated coinage, from alternating dearness and cheapness of the necessaries of life, and also from the admission into circulation of all kinds of foreign coins of suspicious standard. There was some attempt to overcome the last difficulty by grading the worth of these foreign coins, but the government enactments proved ineffectual.

The real importance of the matter was never fully comprehended until the reign of Charles V. Then remedial

measures were discussed with skilled merchants and financiers, especially from Antwerp. The States-General and the Estates of the chief commercial provinces—Brabant, Flanders, and Holland—were repeatedly consulted on this point. A number of ordinances resulted from these deliberations. In hopes of banishing from circulation the golden *schild* of Dordrecht of 1388, issued by Albert of Holland, the golden guilder of Maximilian, the gold Philippus of 1491, the David guilder, and a host of other coins, the Brussels government coined in 1520 the gold Carolus, which contained 1.7 grains of gold, in 1542 the silver Carolus guilder,[1] the first silver guilder in the Netherlands. Moreover, at intervals, under the advice of skilled councillors, ordinances were issued to regulate the value of various foreign coins and to clear the circulation of bad coinage. The usual coins were the pound Flemish and pound Holland, containing twenty shillings of twelve pence each; the former contained two hundred and forty groots, the latter, thirty groots. In the middle of the fifteenth century there was a new pound, the pound of forty groots, that quite supplanted the old Holland pound and soon received the name of guilder, since both the gold and silver Carolus were worth in exchange a similar pound of forty groots. The current small coins were the groot and the double groot, also called *plak*, *kromstaart*, and, after the middle of the fifteenth century, stiver. The pound Flemish and the pound of forty groots, or the guilder, current in Holland and Flanders, supplanted by degrees the former money, especially after the placard relating thereto of October, 1531, notably the pound Tournois which remained in use in Utrecht for a long time, and was half of the Holland pound of thirty groots.

Further, there were the Brabant pound and the ancient

[1] 2.02 florins of modern Dutch money, a trifle over eighty cents American.

Cologne mark in universal use in the far north and north-east of the Netherlands. The silver Carolus supplanted the other local and foreign coins of about the same or higher value, as the Arnhem and German gold guilder, the Philippus guilder, the Utrecht or David guilder, the Andrew guilder, etc.

The smaller local coins, on the other hand, remained in use, as well as the numerous local measures and weights, although their inconveniences were well realised. The stamp, used after the beginning of the sixteenth century in certain provinces, particularly in Holland, effected a greater certainty in measure and weight.

The development of the money market was carefully supervised in the reign of Charles V., and the many placards respecting the matter, issued especially about 1540, show foresight and skill. The establishment of bankers and changers in the chief cities was encouraged in spite of the opposition of the church, which had never approved of loans on interest. Still, under the reign of Mary of Burgundy, the business of the Lombards in the various Burgundian provinces, to which it had been admitted in the thirteenth century, was abolished for a time and did not succeed in regaining a foothold until half a century had elapsed. The government tried to stop usury by fixing the legal rate of interest as high as twelve per cent., but this did not prevent twenty per cent. being asked occasionally, though the normal interest of those days remained at about six per cent. Nevertheless all transactions in money were regarded with suspicion. How they had developed by the middle of the sixteenth century, especially at Antwerp, the centre of Netherland traffic, appears from the stipulations in the placards of about 1540 regulating exchange and brokerage, which show great activity. The fact, too, is noteworthy that toward the middle of the sixteenth century there is mention of life insurance companies, which were already in

operation at Antwerp, though without approval of the government.

Importation and exportation were in a good part dependent on the relations to foreign nations, and both increasingly so with the extension of Netherland shipping. The close relations between Spain and the Netherlands dynastically, were of great moment in this regard. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the Netherland ships were well used to the way to Spanish and Portuguese ports, and the great importance of these ports for general commerce, after the discovery of the ocean route to India and the heroic voyage of Columbus, is plain enough.

Favoured by their own sovereign the Netherland merchantmen were soon in a position to hold all transportation between Spain and the North in their own hands. They had privileges, too, from France for the trade of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, while their English rivals, always disliked in France, were easily pushed aside. The French wars caused repeated stoppage in traffic. The struggle in the North Sea has already been touched upon. There was a constant strife to keep the passage through the Sound open, and the Netherlanders watched events in Scandinavia very closely. The effort made by the Hanse and by Lübeck to expel their dangerous rivals from the Baltic was entirely defeated. Even the most stringent conditions were powerless to restrain the Hollanders. The disturbances in the North at the time of the unfortunate Christian II., the last king of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, threatened a still greater danger to Netherland merchants—the closing of the Sound, a measure urged by all the Hanse. The Danish kings, opponents of Christian, who was only kept on his throne by the efforts of his brother-in-law, Charles V., did succeed in effecting this repeatedly, and Holland was actually threatened with famine, for the provinces did

not grow sufficient corn to feed the population. But the Danish princes, conscious that the Hanse had once tyrannised over their ancestors, plainly saw that a permanent exclusion of the Hollanders was dangerous for their own power, and removed the restrictions.

To be sure, the Netherlanders were obliged to submit to the Sound-toll imposed of old by the Danes on the passage to the Baltic. During the course of both the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were various unpleasantnesses in regard to this toll, as various Danish princes were tempted to exploit it to their advantage, and did not hesitate to increase the rates. The toll gave occasion to many diplomatic complications at the time of Charles V. The learned statesman, Cornelis de Scheppere of Nieuwpoort, who had been in the service of Christian II., rendered great service to the Burgundian government as mediator. The treaty of Speyer of 1544, between Charles V. and Christian II., finally reëstablished the old toll, after more than twenty years of disturbance and intermittent warfare. Although there were still repeated recurrences of troubles about the toll, peace was not again disturbed, and trade in the Baltic was permitted to go on peaceably.

In the same way the commercial traffic of the Netherlands with England was dependent on the conditions in England and on the disposition of the English government to protect its own merchants against their Netherland competitors. The latter had enjoyed extensive commercial privileges in England, dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. King Edward III., too, closely allied to Flanders and Holland, had dealt out privileges "with a full hand" to a number of Netherland cities, nay, to whole provinces. But with fierce competition this state of things changed in the fifteenth century. The quarrel between England and Philip of Burgundy, about 1430, did not improve international relations, and, from

that period on, the English began to impede Netherland trade by imposing heavy tolls and seizing Netherland ships on any pretext. The commercial treaties, the *intercursus*, of 1446 and that of 1468 brought a little more security of intercourse. Conditions were much better when Edward IV., brother-in-law and ally of Charles the Bold, was on the throne. The chief point was the question of tolls, and the favourable treaty, the *intercursus* of 1478, granted by Edward IV., was of great importance, so that the fall of the house of York proved a misfortune for the Netherlanders. The house of Tudor was not friendly to the Netherlanders. Henry VII., anxious to foster English commerce, was little disposed to grant privileges to the Netherlanders, who secretly helped his foes escape and incited disturbances in his dominion. After many difficulties the *Magnus Intercursus* of 1496 was effected, which, on one side, put an end to the secret intrigues of the Burgundian court against the English king, and, on the other, assured commercial privileges to the Netherland merchants. The latter were to be allowed to trade and fish without further authorisation, and trade was only to be subject to the tolls that had been in existence for fifty years. Moreover, no single article of merchandise was to be prohibited, and safety was assured to ship and cargo, especially against piracy and in case of shipwreck. There was no end to the dissensions about this commercial treaty and to the attempts of the English merchants to annul the same. They were temporarily successful in 1506, and substituted a new and very unfavourable treaty, the *Malus Intercursus*. In exchange for great privileges to English trade in the Netherlands, the Netherland merchants received next to nothing in England. The Netherland government refused to ratify the document, and the death of Philip the Fair, who had furthered it, caused its disappearance.

Then the *Magnus Intercursus* of 1496 was virtually re-

newed. It remained the basis for Netherland commercial relations to England until the days when competition in the seventeenth century set the two nations at swords' points.

Under Henry VIII. the English continued, however, to harass Netherland merchants in England. The king wished to reëstablish the treaty of 1506, and worked for it perseveringly in the midst of the complications of his policy against Charles V., who forced him occasionally to sacrifice his ideal to the necessities of his diplomacy. Congresses at Bruges, Dunkirk, Bourbourg, Calais; intermittent periods of good will on both sides and mutual opposition; threats of cessation of all commercial relations; increased stringency in the conditions of the tolls; navigation acts which forced foreigners to export their goods in English ships alone—a series of measures and difficulties came into being in the first half of the sixteenth century. It was indeed commercial war to the knife. It was really the beginning of a struggle that lasted three centuries. It has been said that the Netherlands were the great champions of free trade in this contest as against the protective inclinations of England and of the Hanse, just as they defended these same principles against their own government. This view is not altogether correct. It is true that Netherland merchants of the fifteenth century vigorously opposed imposts and tolls of all kinds, but that simply proves—what needs no proof—that they were little inclined to endure further taxation. It is also true that Holland and particularly Amsterdam vigorously opposed the raising of the *congiegeld*, an export duty on all grains—including foreign—passing through there, demanded by Emperor Charles in 1530–1548. The famous opinion of the council of Mechlin upon this point (1548) must be mentioned, wherin, among more important provisions regarding Holland trade occurs the frequent assertion of the Hollanders that

foreign merchants were admitted freely. But this is all very natural. The phrase refers to the desirability of attracting foreigners and making commerce convenient for the inhabitants. But the principle of free trade is not involved. The Netherland merchants had but one simple creed: "As much freedom as possible for us, as much trouble as possible for our rivals here and elsewhere." This was the unvarying tendency of the laws and policy of commerce.

CHAPTER XIII

CITY AND COUNTRY IN THE BURGUNDIAN PERIOD

THE Netherland society of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was, and became, more and more, a society wherein the cities and burghers took the first place.

In the fourteenth century the nobility in some of the provinces still enjoyed supremacy and were almost universally the ruling class, as they had been for centuries long. A wholly different spirit was dominant in the fifteenth century, although the nobles still had a voice in the government. The products of agriculture formerly provided all the subsistence of life. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a change came about. The key of future social development lies no longer in the country but in the cities. Theoretically the burgher did not claim equality with the nobles, who were ranked next to the clergy. Practically the merchant and burgher held the purse-strings, and were conscious of the fact that an important means of ruling the state lay in their hands. They considered themselves in all cases elevated far above the despised peasant, free or serf.

Under the Burgundian dynasty, the burghers were the chief support of the dukes next to the nobles, now transformed to courtiers, and the pretensions of the former grew as they felt their power. The development of commerce increased municipal prosperity to a high de-

gree. The Netherland cities were the seat of a population growing in economic force. About 1500, the number of inhabitants in the largest Holland towns reached a figure of 20,000 each, that of the smaller from 2000 to 7000 in a total population of perhaps 400,000, which increased by the middle of the century to over 600,000 persons. Not less than 208 walled towns and 150 large villages, really equal to towns, existed in the whole range of the Netherlands, besides numerous church villages and a large number of hamlets.

As city population increased, the city advanced in development and new territory was successively inclosed within city walls. Municipal government was extended to fulfil the demands made on it from all sides. Finance, defence, care of the poor, police supervision, all demanded better regulations and more officials. Justice and administration were gradually intrusted to different colleges of justice. In the Holland cities the last division took place in the fifteenth century. There the schepens were virtually judges, the burgomasters the heads of the daily administration, different departments of which were intrusted to different persons: treasurers for finance, fortress masters for defence, orphan masters for the protection of orphans, "Holy Ghost" masters for pauperism, firewardens for the different wards of the town, impost masters, etc.

The administration of municipal finance, often carried on in a very irresponsible manner, aroused attention, and various cities in Holland and elsewhere had to submit to a reorganisation by government commissioners. The annuity loan, gravely misused in the fifteenth century until the city budget was overweighted with the interest, had been one factor in disturbing municipal finances. The heavy costs of defence after the death of Charles the Bold had been a serious drain, only partially met by the increased taxes. The town councils, composed of the

elders of the municipal governments, make their first appearance in the fourteenth century. In Holland these were limited to colleges, under whose supervision the government was administered. By virtue of a sovereign privilege the city schepens were elected not by the whole council but by the "notable" burghers, who intrusted the matter to a fixed committee from among themselves chosen by the council and court, and arranged in various ways according to local custom, called "the Forty," "the Six-and-Thirty," "the Twenty-four." These last boards, originally nothing more than electoral colleges for the schepens, gradually took the place of former town councils, composed of all the ex-members of the court, and soon entirely supplanted them, so that by the end of the sixteenth century there was no other opinion than that these little colleges were the original town councils. In filling these colleges the sovereign or his representative, the stadtholder, had some voice, that being indeed stipulated in the privileges. The schout, the head of the tribunal of justice, was usually appointed by the sovereign, although it often happened that this office was given to the city government for cash down "in pledge," and they acquired the right to appoint this official.

In general it can be said that by the sixteenth century, the schout, or the officer who fulfilled his functions, was appointed by the central government, which attempted to exercise as much control as possible in the composition of the municipal government and in the filling of the town-council colleges. This was true for nearly all Netherland cities, and, as a rule, the attempt was successful even in the region where the central government was ordinarily less strong, as in Flanders and Brabant and portions of the Sticht and Friesland.

It must further be said that there were certain peculiarities in the municipal administration of each province, nay, even of each city, which were survivals from the past ac-

cording to the manner in which municipal development had taken place in the various localities. In Antwerp there were two burgomasters, an interior and an exterior burgomaster, one of whom looked after domestic affairs, the other, foreign relations. Besides these, there were the margrave and the *amman* at the head of justice, the former for criminal, the latter for civil matters. At Utrecht, the council, after the transfer to Burgundy, lost its power, gained after a long and bitter struggle against episcopal authority, and was confined to matters pertaining to " police, trade, and prosperity," while the real government fell to schout, burgomaster, and schepens, and the last were intrusted with the administration of justice. The influence of the guilds in city politics was restricted, but not destroyed, at Utrecht, Deventer, Kampen, and Groningen, as well as in the cities of Flanders and Brabant, where they had, at times, exercised great influence. The existing communities, or " sworn communities," in the cities of Overyssel, Guelders, and Groningen, were gradually changed to fixed colleges in the spirit of the Holland town councils of the fifteenth century. After the conquest of Friesland, similar colleges were established in the Frisian cities. In this way the central government kept a hand in municipal affairs, to the no small annoyance of the municipal aristocracy, who had gained great independence within a few centuries.

The secretaries and pensionaries, appointed by the cities independently of the sovereign, became to a greater or less extent the councillors of the city governments in the ever-present revolt against the centralising tendency of the sovereign—yes, often the leaders of the cities in their struggle for independence. They accompanied the burgomasters and town councils to the assemblies of the Estates and often appeared as deputies, as they, being city officials and having experience in affairs, seemed the best fitted to act in the Estates. By the middle of the six-

teenth century we hear of the oppressive dominance of these officials in some of the towns. In the composition of the municipal laws, of the statute books, they had great influence. The municipal law books were brought more and more into accordance with the requirements of scientific jurisprudence, wholly in accordance with the then sudden and many-sided development of that portion of human society which they must serve.

Not alone in the city administration, but in other realms can be seen traces of the development of the Netherland cities in these centuries. The city schools became centres of culture, in some cases even miniature universities, where hundreds of students from foreign lands, too, came together to enjoy the leadership of men like Murmellius at Alkmaar, a Hegius at Deventer, a Praedinius at Groningen, in the preparatory studies of letters and philosophy. Art finds innumerable representatives in the great cities besides at court.

The outside of houses in the Netherlands shows prosperity and advance in cultivation. The wooden walls and thatched roofs, the courtyards, calling to mind the old, simple life, and closely resembling the habitations in the surrounding country, give place gradually to stone walls, tiled roofs, and houses built close together. The streets were made passable; pigs and cows no longer browsed freely on the street and market; paving-stones were still bad, and the cleanliness that prevailed was not much to boast of; still, many a town could point to her commodious square adapted for market traffic, to fine churches and stadthouses, enlarged or newly built according to the needs of the growing population. The fire equipment, so needful where wooden houses and thatched roofs still existed in part, was well arranged, especially after the ravaging flames had taught a painful lesson.[1]

[1] Gouda was almost destroyed by fire in 1435, Amsterdam in 1452, Delft in 1536.

The difference between city and village became steadily greater apparently and essentially. The habitation of the citizen was wholly different from that of the peasant; the wall and the moat were no longer the chief distinctions.

In the first place, the cities were the centres of trade, market, traffic, and industry, and they maintained the development of all these against the villages. They often obtained extensive financial privileges from the provincial and central governments, more or less dependent on them, and naturally they looked to it that municipal privileges were respected in the surrounding country. Certain industries were forbidden within a fixed distance from the city; ample rights stipulated for all visitors to the city markets; good roads, bridges, ports, and canals provided, when sometimes one city was favoured without reference to the damage that might incidentally accrue to a neighbouring rival; if one of the seaports were in question, then there was care for the buoys in the outlets, lights and beacons, security against shoals—all this gave the city an advantage over the country that was exploited in every possible way. And the government took more pains about the cities, which could give them financial aid, than about the country, where the scanty and often oppressed population of peasants made little protest.

After the guild disturbances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the guild brothers were held in check, and trade and industry bound by fixed rules, and this contributed to the steady progress of the cities. On the other hand, the country cannot be said to have made much progress.

Many provinces suffered keenly from the wars fought for their possession. Holland and Zealand in the times of Jacqueline, after Charles the Bold, and during the Guelders wars of about 1510; Flanders and Brabant under Maximilian and later in the French wars; Friesland before 1524; Groningen before 1536; Overyssel in

the same period; Guelders under the government of the house of Egmont; the Sticht in the period of the schism, in the time of Bishop David after 1477, and in the Holland war before 1528—all these provinces fell prey to the frightful civil struggles which seriously affected the country districts.

The provinces bordering on France suffered from the plundering of the army on both sides, who made little difference between friend and foe. Famous *brandschatters* were the freebooters of Duke Albert, the Black Troop in Friesland and Groningen, in Holland and Guelders, the wild companions of Robert IV. de la Mark in the South, of the dreaded Martin van Rossem in Holland, Brabant, and the Sticht. There were increasing clamours and complaints, on all sides, of incendiary fires, of plundered villages, of ill-treated peasants, of the raids of small soldiery who scarce knew what lord they served. With great sighs of relief the tormented Netherland country folks heard that Albert's troops had departed, that the Black Troop had perished in Italy, that Martin van Rossem had passed into the emperor's service after the conquest of Guelders. The peasants had had no means of protection from these roving companies except to give them all they had or to take refuge in the walled cities, where constant watchfulness was still necessary to protect the inhabitants. Leyden, Rotterdam, Alkmaar, Haarlem, the cities of Guelders, Utrecht, Amersfoort, Hasselt, Zwolle, the Frisian country towns, all had experience of the dangers which were a menace to every burgher within walls.

The example of Flanders, Holland, and Friesland in the days of Albert's raids show how little resistance the peasants could offer. The skilled soldiers, experienced in the use of firearms, proved the despair of ill-armed peasants.

In 1426, when the Burgundian sovereignty was estab-

lished in Holland, there was violent opposition to the Burgundian officials from the already discontented peasants. It was put down vigorously, to be sure, but many places suffered for years afterwards for their temerity. It was not until 1445 that Alkmaar received back its rights to have city gates.

After the death of Charles the Bold, the quarrels of the Hooks and Cods plunged the defenceless land population into new misery, which was increased in 1490 by the destruction of the harvest by heavy rains, and by the irregularity in the coinage. A serious famine was impending, and the people were in a state of seething discontent. Hoorn and Alkmaar, refuges for the people from the surrounding villages, in 1491 were centres of discontent, and the population wreaked their vengeance on the Burgundian officials, among whom one Klaas Corff, a steward of West Friesland, was especially hated.

The stadtholder of the province, Count John of Egmont, who had come to Hoorn with an armed escort, made some effort to force the contribution of troopers' money from Haarlem, but renounced the attempt on the threatening attitude of the country people. He promised to consider the matter in a diet of the Estates. At the same time the people showed little disposition to ally themselves with the Hook ringleader, John van Naaldwijk.

The diet assembled and deliberated long, but to no purpose. Meanwhile the discontent increased in certain districts to such a degree that the West Friesland and Kennemer cities and villages held an assembly at Niedorp, where they resolved to pay no troopers'-money. With the forced consent of the council of Holland, they destroyed the blockhouse at Hoorn and committed various other disorderly acts. In the spring of 1491 many armed bodies of peasants pressed into Hoorn and Alkmaar and virtually made themselves masters of the towns. They divided themselves into companies, and some of them

put, as a token of their misery, a bit of bread or cheese on their breast, "for a livery, saying that they fought for themselves." The municipal governments evinced an inclination to aid the movement, embittered as they were about the heavy duties imposed by the stadtholder. The government of Hoorn succeeded in persuading the rioters, by means of bribes and fair words, to leave the city and go to Alkmaar. On their way they destroyed strongholds which dated from the time of Floris V.—Nieuwburg and Middelburg near Alkmaar. An attempt of the stadtholder to invest the city failed, and the peasants proceeded to attack Haarlem (May 3, 1492). They were successful through treachery in forcing a gate, murdered the schout, Klaas van Ruyven, and several others, plundered many houses, and destroyed a number of registers at the stadthouse in their search for the hated tax-lists. In this task they were aided by the most vicious portion of the community. After a few days they marched on to Leyden, about three thousand men strong, carrying the banners of Haarlem and Alkmaar, but they were met by the stadtholder, who had hastened thither, and were repulsed so that they returned to Haarlem in confusion.

Here they held firm, even when Albert of Saxony with his troops went to Holland to restore peace. His forces encamped at Beverwijk and began to plunder the vicinity, meeting violent opposition here and there, especially at Heemskerk, where the "Bread and Cheese folk" gathered in great numbers to resist them.

But unskilled peasants were no match for Albert's trained soldiers, and they were obliged to capitulate, submitting to very hard conditions. Haarlem and Alkmaar lost their banners and their privileges, the other West Frisian cities their privileges alone. Alkmaar was forced to allow her gates and walls to be broken down and her canals filled up. Hoorn and Haarlem each had

to relinquish a gate to make way for a citadel. All the artillery in Alkmaar and West Friesland had to be surrendered. All mortgaged domains lapsed to the countship, besides the secretaryship of Haarlem. The latter city had to accept the tribute under consideration and to consent to everything agreed upon by two other great cities. Cities and villages were forced to supply fifty thousand gold Andrew's guilders for the troops. Three hundred representatives of city and country were compelled to march before the stadtholder's lodging, bareheaded and barefooted, a white stick in their hands, to beg for mercy and place life and property at his service. The ringleaders were surrendered and punished. One hundred and seventy-five other persons were put at the disposal of the duke of Saxony, to do with what he would. Finally Texel was obliged to maintain twenty-five men for two months, and all West Friesland had to help erect strongholds at Haarlem and Hoorn. The hated imposts were collected with the utmost stringency, besides all arrears, and a number of new taxes were added.

There was no further attempt to resist the hated Saxon. The required sums were collected with great difficulty, mainly by sale of household plate and jewels. Some places regained their privileges speedily, but Haarlem had to dispense with hers for years, and was not wholly reinstated in her ancient rights until the reign of Charles V. That the "Bread and Cheese act" of 1492, the closing scene of the drama begun after the death of Charles the Bold, seriously harassed the northern districts is evident from the loud plaints in the oft-quoted *Enqueste* of 1494, which mentions the retrogression after the time of Duke Charles. And a comparison with the *Informacie* of 1514 gives little evidence of any marked increase of the prosperity in the country during twenty years, although a certain growth cannot be denied. It

was a period of slow restoration. But the Guelders campaign followed almost immediately, and the regions were harassed anew in a frightful manner, and many villages and farms were laid waste and plundered.

We only possess data for the single province of Holland from this time, as the *Informacie* already mentioned —and that is not perfectly reliable in all respects—is our sole source of knowledge of the conditions in the open country. There seem to have been more tenants than freeholders. The churches and wealthy citizens took the first rank as landowners, while the possessions of the nobles were less prominent. In certain provinces, especially in the Sticht, Guelders, and Overyssel, this was, however, not the case. There, church and nobles were the great landowners, and the number of small proprietors was markedly less. In Friesland, on the other hand, everything goes to show that there were a great many small estates, while the *heerschappen*, or gentlemen, together, were taxed one twelfth of the whole sum imposed. The possessions of the numerous convents and churches were very extensive in Friesland, greater than elsewhere in the provinces. In Groningen the lists of the estates of convents and churches at the end of the sixteenth century show that a considerable portion of the terrain was held by clerical owners and cultivated by tenants, or *meiers*. Besides these, there was also a large number of small holdings. In the cultivated districts of Drenthe, ownership in land seems to have been coexistent with a great number of small holdings. This is also true in Zealand, where there was a high degree of prosperity in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the southern provinces the landed estates of the nobles were predominant; then came those of the clerical establishments, while the burghers, too, were landlords of a great extent of territory; the peasants there were tenants, not free landowners, however small.

The process of development of personal freedom in the open country went on unceasingly. *Keurmedigheid* van ished by the sixteenth century in Holland and Zealand, obligations being bought off. In certain parts of Flanders, especially in the countship of Aalst and on the French boundary, it still remained in existence, and many in Guelders, while there and in Overyssel and in also Walloon districts traces of ancient servitude lingered among the peasant population long after it had vanished in other provinces. The general statement can be made that by the sixteenth century the Netherland peasant was free.

Guicciardini gives us a very favourable picture of agricultural conditions in the Netherlands, especially in Brabant and Flanders, before the middle of the sixteenth century, the period which he knew from personal observation.

He praises the Netherland farmer, who had turned a land naturally unfruitful into a garden; he speaks with admiration of the picturesque meadows, the neat peasant cottages, and the cattle. Besides wheat, rye, barley, millet, and oats—products of which we hear earlier, and of which wheat, since the thirteenth century, took an increasingly important place—he mentions the admirable buckwheat, chiefly employed as cattle fodder, but also used for bread, mixed with wheat. Flax and hemp attain some significance, while the exploitation of coal-fields begins to come to the fore. Peas and beans also belong to the products which were well known. Flemish greens were famous, and King Christian II. of Denmark invited Netherland peasants to his kingdom—the island Amager near Copenhagen was especially mentioned—who succeeded in raising the standard in agriculture, in dairy products, and in vegetable culture. Catherine of Aragon, too, at about the same time (1520) invited Netherland horticulturists to England in order to introduce finer agricultural products.

Among the chief exports were onions, garlic, and hops, besides butter and cheese; eggs, too, should be mentioned. Pears, apples, plums, cherries, cranberries, apricots, nuts, and chestnuts, too, were found in some places. Commercial intercourse of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seems to have been favourable to the introduction of new kinds of fruits, so that Netherland fruit culture of the sixteenth century stood on a very high plane, although Guicciardini complains that the juicy fruits of Italy are lacking, especially grapes, of which, however, a few were to be found in Louvain and Namur, Liege and Luxemburg. The best grew in town gardens, according to him, while he mentions an Antwerp apothecary's garden filled with medicinal plants, and that of a magistrate in the neighbourhood of Bruges as exceptional in fine horticulture.

The prosperity of the peasant is naturally dependent, for a great part, on the richness of the harvest and the opportunity of finding a market for the produce. These two elements are always at the mercy of chance. The wars in the North had a great effect on the price of grain, so that even in the time of Charles V. there was great variation in this regard. In general it can be said that grain prices rose markedly in the beginning of the sixteenth century, so that a comparison between 1500 and 1600 shows a difference of almost double. But temporary and local conditions counted. The arrival of a Baltic fleet or a good harvest often caused a sudden and sharp change in price.

There was a good deal of traffic in sheep, cattle, and horses. Frisian and Holland cows and oxen maintained a good reputation, and were exported in great numbers. Guicciardini, too, speaks with admiration of the horse breeding, which was so extensive about 1530 that government measures were taken to limit the export of horses, especially of mares, from fear that the cavalry supply

might fall short. Bee culture, too, made great progress.

Reclamation of forest land excited little interest. The nobles, devoted as they were to the pleasures of the chase, did not encourage clearing. On the contrary, new forests were planted. For example, the Hague woods were laid out afresh in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Various placards from the time of Charles V. have the preservation of the forests in view. Guicciardini mentions as existing forests in the middle of the century: the Ardennes, stretching thirty miles between Diedenhofen and Liege; the forest of Mormal near Quesnoy, St. Amand near Valenciennes, and that of Fagnes, between Avesnes and Mézières. In Brabant there was the beautifully preserved Soniën forest near Brussels, a summer pleasure-ground for the inhabitants of the capital; that of Meerdal and Zeventerloo near Louvain; magnificent hunting-grounds of Grootenhout near Turnhout, where Mary of Hungary was in the habit of hunting. In Flanders there was the forest of Nieppe near Cassel, Nonna near Ypres, and that of Poodsbergen on the Hainaut border, survivals of ancient forests. The Veluwe forests near Arnhem, the Rijkswald near Nimwegen and Cleves, Zevenwolden in Friesland, were the most considerable in the North. The chase-loving Burgundian race set the fashion to the nobles with numerous hunting-parties in the forests, where, besides harts, foxes, wild boars, hares, and rabbits in abundance, wolves ranged, especially in the Ardennes. Placards were often issued with injunctions against the extermination of game, especially in Flanders, but the peasants were allowed to hunt wolves without restriction, and indeed a premium was offered for their bodies. Falconry was a very favourite amusement as well as hounds. Netherland sport-falcons and sport-hounds were highly prized throughout Europe.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the condition in the country districts along the sea was largely affected by the constant struggle against the element eternally lurking as an enemy to the Netherland people. The floods were repeated. Those of 1421, 1508, 1509, 1514, 1516, and 1532 wrought dreadful devastation. During the reign of Charles V. there were effectual measures taken to prevent the recurrence of these disasters. In 1516 a new official was created, that of general superintendent of the dikes. The first incumbent was Charles de Poitiers, who held the difficult and unpopular office until 1540, in spite of the opposition of the local dike officers. The efforts were not confined to dike building. As of old and to-day, as much land as possible was redeemed from the sea.

In Zealand and on the South Holland islands the banks of the Scheldt and Meuse were protected, and the work begun in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on Schouwen, Duiveland, and Tholen was pushed forward. For this region the legend of the Zealand coat of arms, *Luctor et Emergo*, tells the whole story. The words are literally true. At the end of the fourteenth century diking was begun along the Striene between Bergen op Zoom and the Moerdijk in the vicinity of Steenbergen. The Bies bosch, which had originated in 1421, was limited in 1460, by the dike of the Land of Altena, to the district situated lower down. Seventy-two villages had been flooded. Thirty-eight of these were redeemed, while the diking was improved in the neighbourhood of Dordrecht and the Land of Altena.

In West Friesland, certain portions of the Geestmerambacht were diked in the middle of the sixteenth century; in 1564 the Bergen and Egmont meres received the same protection, operations in which the water-mills, erected a century earlier, proved very effective. The various islands, too, in this region were connected by strong

dikes. In connection with the plans for redeeming or poldering these regions, the strengthening of the defences of Pettemer was very important. All efforts made in the end of the fifteenth century had failed, but the operations in the early part of the sixteenth were more effective.

Between 1505 and 1508 the Oude Biltdijk was erected in Friesland, and the old Middle Sea was practically turned into land. In the Lauwers, the Ringewaarden was redeemed in the fifteenth century, and Kruisland near Kollum between 1529 and 1542. The Dollart, which probably originated about the end of the fourteenth century, was greatly increased in 1520 and thereabouts by exceptional floods. About 1545 a large polder of nearly seven thousand hectares was redeemed from it, while two thousand more were diked in, near Winschoten and Blijham.

Thus the work begun in the tenth century was carried on and crowned with success. The government aided all these efforts, which became more important as the ancient feuds and petty wars gradually ceased. The country people, therefore, as well as the townsfolk, had reason to be satisfied with the union of the Netherlands under one hand. Not alone security was insured, but the peasants' prosperity increased under the good care afforded by government measures.

Thus the Burgundian sovereignty was a blessing to city and country. Commerce and industry, agriculture and navigation, all closely allied with each other, prospered in common and wrought each other weal. Under the protection of a powerful overlord, products of city and country were safely carried on native ships to the lands where they were needed.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, therefore, the collective Netherlands offered a spectacle to be seen nowhere else in Europe. They were the Indies which

made the greatest contribution to the power of the Spanish-Burgundian monarchy, then the mightiest in Europe. The Netherlands were the fairest pearl in the crown of the Spanish king, and the only question was whether that monarch appreciated the precious jewel.

CHAPTER XIV

ART, LETTERS, AND SCIENCE UNDER THE BURGUNDIAN PRINCES

THE brilliancy of the Burgundian court, the prosperity of the Netherland cities, the riches of the Burgundian nobles, exercised a marked influence upon the development of art and science in these times. Art-loving princes and princesses like Philip the Good and John of Bavaria, like the Utrecht bishops David and Philip of Burgundy, like Philip the Fair and his father Maximilian, like the regents Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary, like Philip II. himself, who was a fine connoisseur, all decorated their palaces and chief churches of their capitals with the products of Netherland art, and furthered that same art by the patronage of talented artists.

The governments of rich cities like Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, and even many small towns, erected fine buildings at this time, evincing an interest in and a taste for art, and vied with each other in decorating churches, council chambers, and even their inns, with paintings and statues by the first Netherland artists.

Officials of high rank, like the counts of Nassau, the lords of Croy, and many ecclesiastics in cloisters and churches, decorated their private dwellings in the same manner. Many of their works of art are preserved to us to testify to the degree reached by Netherland art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Art found her devoted disciples first in the rich provinces of Flanders and Brabant, later in Holland. What appears in the remaining provinces is only a weak imitation. Utrecht alone could rival Holland about 1500.

Painting is the first art to consider. In the fourteenth century a great progress is evident if we compare the existing examples with those of previous centuries.

The art of illumination, as we know it from the decorated manuscripts of a religious nature, from the hymn- and prayer-books and theological treatises of the mystics at the end of the century, was a favourite form of artistic work.

The inhabitants of the Windesheim convents devoted themselves zealously to the decoration of religious works, beginning with the designing of ornamental capital letters, soon expanding into figures and pictures on the margins of the books, and finally passing to more ambitious pictures illustrating the Bible and the lives of saints. Henry Mande, Godfrey of Kempen, Egbert of Lingen were all noted in this respect at the beginning of the fifteenth century. That the tradition remained in the brotherhood is proven by the fact that as late as 1521 Andreas Diepenheim was invited to Windesheim from the Overyssel convent, Albergen, to instruct the younger brothers in illumination.

About 1400 this fine kind of painting was found in Brabant and Flanders in a high degree of excellence, and the fifteenth century can show many specimens of the best work.

As a rule, however, the work of the Brabant and Flemish illuminators is of higher rank than that of their northern contemporaries, as can be seen from an examination of the fine collections in the library at Brussels in comparison with what can be found in the public collections in the North.

Other forms of painting developed at the same time as the art of illuminating. The decorators of books often devoted themselves to painting altars and columns, sometimes very crudely and again as true artists.

In his prime—he died insane in 1482—Hugo van der Goes was famous as the first painter north of the Alps, and received, as Durer did later, Maximilian himself in his studio in the Rooklooster near Brussels. Still the art of the Windesheimers and other monks was, as a rule, confined to their own convent or to convents of the same order. It seldom went afield. It was an individual expression of the piety of artistic men, not a power appearing in the market of life.

By the fifteenth century art changed its character. Artists began to live outside the convents, at the courts. As far as is known, the court of the talented John of Bavaria about 1400 was the first in the Netherlands to invite artists to devote themselves to the service of the prince and of the public. Traces of the existence of painters who offered their skill to those who needed it, are evident at the middle of the fourteenth century, when a painter established at Utrecht painted a panel for the castle of Count John of Blois at Schoonhoven. Undoubtedly the van Eycks, one of whom was at the courts of John of Bavaria and Philip of Burgundy, learned the art of oil painting, which they improved upon, from unknown yet active predecessors. Many frescos in churches and cloisters, a few dating from the fourteenth century, preserve the memory of the work of these earlier painters. Besides those on the columns of St. Peter at Utrecht, possibly of the twelfth century, those at Gorinchem and Ghent of the thirteenth, there are also many minor specimens of similar frescos to be found in many north and middle Netherland churches, as at Maestricht and Haarlem from the fourteenth century, at Leyden and Stedum from the fifteenth. Colours were used, too, on

the banners, altars, and images in churches and castles, which were, as far as we can judge, very brilliant. In the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century archives, of both city and church, we find many mentions of such decoration.

These frescos, altar-pieces, and image-painting give, together with the illuminations, the first important proofs of Netherland art from an artistic point of view. The oldest known Netherland canvas painting is that at Utrecht, of 1363, done by an unknown artist. Then follow those of the Fleming Melchior Broederlain[1] at Bruges, of about 1390. It is also possible that a few of the pieces called of the Flemish school are the works of unknown Netherland masters of the fourteenth century.

A word must be said, too, about the development of window-painting in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There are traces of this art to be found at Spaarndam early in the thirteenth century, and the fourteenth is rich in records of gifts of painted windows from princes and lords to churches in the South and the North. The major part of this work is lost, but what Berend van Orley[2] did in the South, the brothers Crabeth at Gouda in the middle of the sixteenth century, is sufficient to show the high grade attained by art in those days, and the care with which this particular branch was practised in the Netherlands. Van Eyck and Memling are the greatest names in art of the fifteenth century, and their beautiful productions still make a powerful impression on the visitor to Flemish cities where a few specimens of their work live on in their ancient surroundings, cherished by the loving care of succeeding generations who have built their faith on the contemplation of these pictures. The two brothers Hubert and John van Eyck, who died respectively in 1426 and 1448, painted together the *Worship of the Lamb*, which became, from its fineness of colouring and accuracy of drawing, the model for a whole school of

[1] Also spelled Broederlam. [2] Also known as Bernard.

Flemish artists. The brothers were probably born at Maaseyck, but their environment is wholly unknown to us. They emancipated themselves from the old-fashioned gold background, still used in painting of the fourteenth century, and adopted a perspective which added greatly to the realism of the picture, and a new method in the technique of colour-mixing, which enabled them to give a clearness and durability to the early colours, so that their work has lasted to our era.

John van Eyck, the more famous of the two, was sent to Portugal to paint Isabella's portrait at the time when Philip the Good proposed for her, and he also visited Spain. His reputation spread to Italy, and Italian artists came to Bruges to be his disciples. By the middle of the fifteenth century the brothers were the masters of a large Flemish school whose productions are the pride of many collections. A greater artist than the van Eycks was, perhaps, Hans Memling. His birthplace is still unknown, but he was working at Bruges about 1480, where a number of his best works are preserved, and give evidence of his talent.

In addition to these names, a number of others occur in the history of Flemish, Brabantine, and Holland art. There was Rogier van der Weyden,[1] Memling's honoured master, himself a favourite pupil of John van Eyck, who worked at Brussels in the middle of the century and especially excelled as a colourist; Gerard David of Oudewater, Dirk Bouts of Haarlem, who worked at Louvain (1470), and Geertgen van Sint Jans.[2] All show close kinship with the van Eycks, in whose school they formed or perfected their art. They spread throughout the cities of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, and churches and council chambers still contain proofs of their skill and genius. Gradually, too, their works were carried to the

[1] These names appear in many other forms.

[2] Also known as Geraart van Haarlem.

museums of all Europe and proclaimed the fame of the land of their birth.

Van der Weyden visited Italy, and, at the end of the fifteenth century, his pupils began to follow his example. In increasing numbers they bathed in the eternally fresh fountain of classic art, attaching themselves to the beauty worship of the Renaissance, which also exercised an undeniable influence on the art of painting. From the alliance of the brilliant colouring and the realism of the old Flemish school with the fineness, the exquisite ideal forms of Raphael's contemporaries, with the sturdiness of conception of Michel Angelo and his followers, was born the later Netherland school of art. But it retained, spite of admirable features, a certain bastard character. In both faults and virtues it shows traces of its origin from two very different schools.

Lucas van Leyden and Jan van Schoorl,[1] two sons of Holland, are the best known representatives of the new Italian-Netherland tendency. Lucas van Leyden, educated as engraver in his native town, was better known, so it appears, in that art, although his paintings were admired too in his lifetime. "Mr. Lucas who engraves in copper," as Dürer once said, never visited Italy, but at Antwerp and other Flemish and Brabant cities inhaled the breath of Italian-Flemish art. He was young at his death in 1533, but he left, both in and out of his native town, a mass of work that was later scattered over Europe. His name was used in Italy and Spain whenever there was a question of the paintings of unknown Flemish masters.

Much higher than he, indeed, stands as artist Jan van Schoorl, who spent the greater part of his life at Utrecht and Haarlem, and saw something of the world in his journeys through Germany, Italy, and France (1520–1527). At the time of the Netherland pope, Adrian VI.,

[1] These names appear in many other forms.

he returned to Rome and learnt Italian methods, which characterised his later works. Roman ruins, oriental landscapes, give a certain unreality to his paintings and to those of his pupils, which is injurious, especially in the latter case. The fertile Martin van Veen van Heemskerk was, about 1550, the great representative at Haarlem of this half-Italian method, which was not always in harmony with the increasing Netherland taste for realism.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the list of great Netherland painters is a long one. Quentijn Matsys of Louvain, Erasmus' friend, Berend van Orley of Brussels, court painter to both regents, who was equally famous as glass-painter, cartoon designer, and historical painter; Jan Gossaert van Mabuse (Mauberge),[1] painter of the nude, who flourished at the court of Philip of Utrecht; the learned Frans Floris,[2] the head of a favourite school at Antwerp which had more than one hundred pupils; the Leyden artist, Cornelis Engelbrechtsen, master of Lucas van Leyden; Pieter Pourbus of Gouda, one of the first historical artists of his time; Michiel Coxie[3] of Mechlin; Jeronimo Bos,[4] whose fantastic paintings were so admired by Philip II.; finally the admirable portrait-painter, Antonio Mor, or Moro, of Utrecht, to whom the favour of Charles V. and Philip II. gave a brilliant position in the Spanish court. All these names give evidence of the bloom of Netherland art in the sixteenth century, only equalled and in some points surpassed by that of the seventeenth. At Mechlin alone there were reckoned to be not less than one hundred and fifty artists in the train of the art patron Margaret. The guilds of St. Luke existing in nearly all the cities had a large number of active members.

Side by side with painting flourished engraving, the art

[1] Mabusius, Malbodius, Mabogio, Mobugius.

[2] Frans de Vriendt.

[3] Coxcyen, Coxis.

[4] Hieronymus Bosch or van Aken.

of the "printers," the copper-cutters. It is very probable that this art really originated in the Netherlands, where it certainly reached a high state of perfection. The oldest prints show a connection with Netherland miniatures and the panels of the Flemish school. The names, indeed, are lost. There is mention of "the master of 1480," or the master of this or that exhibition in a way to leave no doubt that already by the middle of the fifteenth century wood- and copper- engraving took a high rank. The subjects were almost exclusively biblical. Madonnas, dances of death, pictures of saints, were favourite topics. The dances of death are especially famous.

Engraving, allied with the goldsmith's art, seems to have originated and developed under the rich Burgundian princes. Engravers and goldsmiths formed originally one great guild, whence came on the one side the later great painters, on the other the later engravers. Flanders and Holland are the seats of this noble but laborious art to be mentioned in one breath with etching. Certainly Lucas van Leyden was the greatest of the printers, whose work bears comparison with that of his famous contemporary, Albert Dürer. He illustrated popular life of his time in excellently executed prints, putting a national character into his pictures of Bible history. Nearly all painters of name were more or less happy engravers and etchers, as these crafts gave them an opportunity of multiplying copies of their work. They cared more about the multiplication than the art itself. Not until the middle of the sixteenth century, in the days of Martin van Heemskerk, who was a distinguished engraver, did they begin to make the print for its own sake. Maps of about 1520 give evidence of the high degree reached by wood-engraving. Cities, dikes, rivers, were all represented by wood-engraving, and wood-engravers like Cornelis Anthonisz, of Amsterdam could compare favourably with copper-engravers like Lucas van Leyden.

Sculpture never reached the rank attained by painting and engraving, although an excellent example of what a Netherlander could accomplish in that direction is furnished by Klaas Sluter's work at Dijon in the Franche Comté, for Philip the Bold and John without Fear. His *Mosesput*, finished in 1402, bears comparison with Michael Angelo's works, and made a deep impression on his contemporaries and successors. The material was coloured sandstone, and now, as the colours fade, the merit of the work is even more apparent. He left moreover a number of statues, life-size, in the Chartreuse at Dijon and on the tomb of Philip the Bold, all of which give evidence of his real genius. But the Netherlands can show nothing to compare with these works except the beautiful tomb of Engelbert II. of Nassau at Breda, made by an unknown Italian sculptor of Michael Angelo's school.

The tomb of Charles of Guelders in the Arnhem Eusebius church, of Engelbert I. at Breda, the Ysselstein monuments, the tomb of Gerhard III. of Guelders at Roermond, and the various other monuments found here and there in old churches are not artistic works of art, although the two Guelders pieces are the best found here, and it is a pity that the sculptors' names are lost to us.

The wooden sculpture that has been preserved is, as a rule, very mediocre. The Madonnas and John the Baptists, the Christs and St. Christophers, the little figures on the monuments, are only interesting from their antiquity. Still many works were destroyed in the iconoclastic fury or were neglected in the days of the calvinistic republic, and it would perhaps be unfair to judge all by the poverty of the remnants. We know at least the names of many reputable sculptors from the time of Mary of Hungary, herself a connoisseur in art. There are such names as Peter de Beckere, the sculptor of the tomb of Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold; Jacques du Broecq of Mons; John de Heere of

Ghent; Conrad Meijt of Mechlin, who made the tomb of Philibert of Orange at Lons le-Saulnier; Borset of Liege; Jongelinck of Antwerp, who constructed the mausoleum of Charles the Bold at Bruges—names which make a list long enough to prove that the art of sculpture was comparatively flourishing, at least in Flanders and Brabant. In interior decoration there are the beautiful mantelpieces of Kampen, Bergen op Zoom, and Bruges, poetry in stone and wood. The tribunal at Nimwegen, the council-chamber at Kampen, were wrought by Netherland artists. Many a work in stone and wood escaped destruction. Many a choir railing, many a tomb or organ testifies to a high artistic development. Even in the North, as far as Bolsward in Friesland and Ter Apel in remote Westerwolde, there are many choir chairs as eloquent witnesses of the art of wood-carving in the sixteenth century, proofs of the wide-spread feeling for art.

Then, too, there are the tasteful ornaments on the book covers, and decorated furniture, some specimens of which have come down to us, reminders of the days when the finest furniture was made in Flanders and Brabant, so that its export was an important feature in commerce. Bedsteads and chests, chairs and tables, were exported in great numbers, and the Netherland cabinet-makers—"chestmakers"—had high repute. The Netherlands was, in truth, the land of luxury. The interiors represented in paintings and prints of the time give an excellent picture of the tasteful manner in which the Netherlanders of the sixteenth century furnished their dwellings. Artistic taste is manifest in every realm. Even ordinary household utensils show this to be true. Many a tastefully made knife-handle, many a can or piece of glass whose toughness has endured the teeth of years, many a beautiful drinking-horn, gives proof of this desire for beauty. The most eloquent witnesses, however, are found in architecture.

The *Broodhuis*, worthy companion to the beautiful city hall, on the Great Square at Brussels, the Bourse at Antwerp, and the famous towers of Nôtre Dame, the city hall of Oudenarde, the building of the great council at Mechlin, various guild-houses at Mechlin, Antwerp, Brussels, and elsewhere, the superb mansions of the Nassaus, Croys, Egmonts, Hoogstraatens, Ravesteins, and of many other distinguished families in Brussels and Mechlin, all date from the time of the regent Margaret, who was herself a patron of the fine arts.

The beautiful Latin school at Nimwegen is of 1544, the Mint at Dordrecht of 1555. The Duivelshuis at Arnhem was the favourite dwelling of the doughty Martin van Rossem, who built and paid for it from his booty. The pope's house at Utrecht was built about 1500 for the bishop who was later Adrian VI. The Utrecht chapter-house and the famous Delft towers date from the end of the fifteenth century. A little later John's church in 's Hertogenbosch was built. The city hall of Zierikzee dates from 1554; that at Veere is about five years older; that at Nimwegen, about the same age. The Leeuwarden chancery and the city hall at Franeker go back to Saxon times; the one at Middelburg was building from 1512–1518. Numbers of churches, towers, city halls, gates, and certain old houses might be mentioned which were built at this time, some in mere villages.

And they were Netherland architects who undertook these great operations, mainly simple city carpenters whose names are not preserved. Famous were the Keldermans of Louvain, who did much building in Brussels and Zealand; Duhamel, who was apparently the chief person in the building of John's church, came from the same place, and also built the famous city hall at Louvain. Rombout of Mansdale was the great Mechlin architect. Louis van Bodegem and Hendrik van Pede flourished at Brussels. They and a number of others

form a phalanx of Netherland Renaissance architects, who borrowed much from the ideas and monuments of antiquity, especially from Vitruvius, but still kept a national type in mind.

But the Græco-Roman renaissance soon pushed national art aside, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the former is dominant even in architecture.

The development of Netherland music was also an event in the realm of Netherland art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Netherland music, indeed, perhaps won a European reputation before Netherland painting. As early as the days of Philip the Good it was reckoned the best in Europe. At about 1500, France, Germany, and Italy were full of Netherland musicians, who led the choristers in the courts and churches of the chief cities. Guicciardini acknowledges that the Netherlanders "elevated and perfected music." He praises the melodious and agreeable song of Netherland men and women, who played all manner of instruments.

The names of the Utrecht Obrecht, composer of beautiful masses; of the Dendermonde Okeghem, often called the father of modern counterpoint, and the master of the still famous Josquin des Prez from Berchem; of the prince of musicians, Orlando Lasso, whose name in its Walloon form (de Lattre), originated in Mons in Hainaut, who estabiished schools of musicians at the Italian courts and at Munich and Paris, where his remarkable talents were admired and appreciated; of Créquillon, musical director of Charles V.; of Gombert, composer of the famous *Ave Maria*—all these names are well known. In Spain, too, where many Netherland musicians appeared under Charles V. and Philip II., in Hungary under Ferdinand I., and in Denmark under Christian II., the supremacy of the Netherlanders in music was universally acknowledged, and the Netherland *Motetten* enjoyed a well-deserved

reputation. The "fountain of music" was in the Netherlands, says the Venetian Cavallo. Whole orchestras of Netherland musicians travelled through Europe and practised their art. Netherland song-books were in general use. Netherland songs found admirers and imitators everywhere.

This slight sketch is sufficient to show the flourishing state of Netherland art in every realm, and also to point out the fact that a spirit of Netherland nationality existed.

There is far less to say of Netherland literature in those days. Not that a number of literary productions could not be mentioned, not that we could not name many an author who attempted to express his thoughts in his mother tongue—but still neither the productions nor the forms of those days deserve a high rank in the history of letters.

There is nothing especial to say of Netherland prose of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century. The ungainly speech of the Netherland historians, pamphleteers, and theologians—the only writers whose voice was heard—ill bears comparison with the elegant Latin of an Erasmus and his contemporaries. The bastard form in which the ordinary official language, French, defaced not only government documents but also the ordinary speech of conversation, checked the progress of Netherland prose for a long time. The Beka translations about 1400, the *Goutsch Cronyxken* (1478), the *Fasciculus Temporum* by Veldenaer (1480), the so-called *Divisie kroniek* (1517), Worp van Thabor's Frisian chronicle (1525), Sicke Benninghe's Groningen chronicle (1530), are the chief Netherland writings of the time, dry and barren compilations at the best.

There are innumerable convent writings: on one hand the devout expression of the Windesheim spirit prevalent in the fifteenth century; on the other theological literature

of the reformation period, of which the works of David Joriszoon, the zealous Sacramentarian or Anabaptist, are the best specimens, with the translations of the New Testament in the vernacular, and those of Luther's writings—these were the most widely read books in the period of the reformation. Noteworthy, too, are certain popular books very widely read, such as the old romances of the Swan knight, of the four sons of Aymon, of Roland, of the Charlemagne cyclus in general, worked over into prose narratives by unknown writers. Next to these come the comic stories of Til Uilenspiegel and Reineke Fox, the wonderful fable of Fortunatus with the inexhaustible purse, the recitals of the deeds of the sorcerer, Virgil, and the romances of the patient Griselda.

The art of printing multiplied the illustrated prose works throughout the Netherlands. In comparison with the proof that Mainz was the birthplace of printing, the claims advanced by Haarlem are not so good, while still less can be said for Utrecht or Cologne. The number of printed works which appeared in the Netherlands between 1470 and 1500, famous as *Cunabula*, the marked excellence of the editions, the undoubted antiquity of the oldest Netherland impressions, showing the art in its early infancy, however—all throw much weight in the balance in regard to the question of the place of discovery.

There is certainly not the slightest doubt that printing was in use in the Netherlands after 1470, and especially in Antwerp, Holland, and the Sticht. Certain North Netherland cities — Gouda, Delft, Leyden, Haarlem, Utrecht, Deventer—were the headquarters of some of the earliest printers. They were known as far as Germany and Italy, as well as the musicians, although they were a less numerous class. After 1520, under the influence of the reformation literature and in spite of the obstacles thrown in the way by the government, Nether-

land printing made great strides, as did, too, the allied arts of wood- and copper-engraving. Christopher Plantin established his business in the very year of the abdication of Charles V., and gave a fresh impetus to Netherland printing.

In touching upon Netherland literature in the Burgundian period, the rhetoricians must not be passed over. They dominated the literary life of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the realm of poetry. They originated in the customs of the clerical brotherhoods or guilds which existed in nearly all Netherland cities and large villages in the fourteenth century. The object was to aid the clergy in the representations of religious dramas and the arrangement of processions. Gradually, about 1400, the societies began to give performances independently of the church.

The chambers of rhetoric first became prominent in the Walloon provinces. Other organisations, too, especially the archers' guilds, seem to have given dramatic representations, but with the rhetoricians the religious element was always dominant. During the development of the Netherland cities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the number of these associations increased enormously. No city or big village in the provinces was without one or more rhetoric chambers under the direct protection of the municipal governments. The administration of these chambers was in the hands of a "Prince" or "Emperor," the first of the chief people or deacons, who formed the highest rank, together with the "Factor" (director of the plays), and the "Ensign." The "Fool" and the "Messenger," or "Knave of the Chamber," were subordinates, and ordinary members were "Brothers." Their statutes were little different from those of the guilds.

From time to time the chambers held histrionic and oratorical contests. The great contests called "land

jewels " spread the rhetoricians' fame far and wide. The procession of these chambers was especially grand when the Brothers, seated on richly decorated waggons or floats, with symbolic emblems, dressed in brilliant costumes, preceded by heralds and escorted by the jesting fools, rode into the city where the contest was to take place. The land jewels of Ghent in 1539 and of Antwerp in 1561 are especially celebrated. Between 1431 and 1620 more than sixty were held. They were grand popular festivals for the cities, and occasionally the proceedings were somewhat unlicensed.

Anthony de Roover of Bruges (died, 1482) was one of the famous rhetoricians. He composed many eulogies of Mary and a few lay poems. In general the rhetoricians can be regarded as the successors of the clerical and didactic writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The spirit was identical. The most remarkable of all was Matthias de Casteleyn of Oudenarde (1488–1550), who composed more than one hundred greater and lesser plays, and finally published an " Art of Rhetoric," which was the handbook of the rhetoricians for centuries in certain districts.

To a lesser degree, the poetess Anna Bijns, who lived and versified about 1530 at Antwerp, represented the ruling tendency of the rhetoricians. In form only did she belong to the guild, while the spirit of her best works, —a fierce denunciation of Luther and his followers, and love songs,—is not in accordance with the conventional gentle wisdom of the rhetorical poetry. She is the single representative of the true artistic lyric feeling in those days. The language of her refrains is chaste while fiery. Her poetry is not without soul.

Then the tone of the rhetoricians began to change. Reformation ideas, working so vigorously in the cities among the lower classes, penetrated their circle and appear in many a poem recited in the land jewels. How

could it be otherwise? Religious feeling had always played a part in education, and the great agitation in the religious realm could hardly go on irrespective of education. The Ghent land jewel of 1539 with its prize question, What is the greatest consolation to the dying man? shows not only in the answers but in the question itself what interested the worthy burghers. And the queries were not confined to religion. Politics appeared, too, and the question of the land jewel at Antwerp in 1561—What can keep the country tranquil?—gave scope to many political theories.

This was one reason for the decay of the rhetoricians. The government, fearing the trend of opinion, began to withdraw their protection and to exercise a strict supervision. As early as 1528 the stadtholder of Holland declared that various plays were a serious danger to the common people. The Ghent plays of 1539 were forbidden in the following year in a stern imperial mandate. In 1546, an appointed land jewel was forbidden by the regent at Leyden at the time when John Beukelszoon, the Münster "king," was a zealous member of the chamber. The chief nobles, who had been in the habit of giving financial support to the rhetoric chambers and prizes to the poets, now drew back prudently. The clergy urged a careful supervision of the topics treated. In 1560, a stringent placard was issued on that point. Thus the rhetoric chambers found themselves seriously hampered by the government, and although at the end of the century two hundred chambers existed in the Netherlands, still the period of prosperity was past by 1560, and the Antwerp land jewel was the last gleam of a setting sun.

Folk-songs were very popular in the provinces in the Burgundian period. In the fifteenth century many a beautiful religious and lay song originated. The hymns from the Windesheim circle bear the character of the fifteenth century. Church songs and hymns, spiritual

songs intended for personal use, especially the latter, have high value as eloquent expressions of the piety of the "devouts," much more eloquent than the yards of self-confession in the weak prose of the fifteenth century furnished by the literature in the religious establishments of that period. What one of the writers of these songs writes of one can be said of nearly all:

> "He who first sang the songs,
> Sang them from purest love."

Not less touching in their truth and simplicity, not less sincere, are the religious hymns from the reformation time, the songs of the martyrs and those persecuted for their belief, who, "longing to be at home," as one of the best known of their songs says, tried to brighten their last or most dangerous moments by a pious song. And although Anna Bijns might protest that the songs smacked of heresy, although there were edicts and sermons against the *diffamatoire cantilenen*—the reformers raised their simple mocking or earnest hymns in opposition to the ecclesiastical hallelujah. Artless in form the hymns often were, but still the expression of real feeling. Especially noteworthy are the *Souterliedekens* in the vernacular, attributed to William van Zuylen of Nyevelt (1539). These were the predecessors of the reformed church hymns, and perhaps often sung in the gatherings of the reformers, although not primarily intended for that purpose. In the realm of religious hymns, the fifteenth century ranks higher than the first half of the sixteenth, when the reform movement was originating. This is the case, too, with lay songs, the best examples of which date from the fifteenth century and earlier. A few are well known, as "It dawns in the east," and "I stood on the high mountains." We have numerous soldier or cavalier songs, often of an historical nature, from the sixteenth century, and others, describing adventures of domestics and townsfolk in love, etc.; they are more

realistic but less sincere, less naïve than the fifteenth-century folk-songs sung in simple melodies which are impressive, far more so than the later songs from the famous Antwerp *Liedboek* or the *Diversche Liedekens* of De Casteleyn.

Still, except Anna Bijns, there are no poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries any more than prose writers worthy of the name of artist in the realm of literature, in so far at least as the Netherland tongue was used as a vehicle of thought. Between Anna Bijns and Dirc Potter, the contemporary of William VI. of Holland, not one poet's name can be mentioned. Before Coornhert, Netherland prose is still in swaddling clothes, from which even a Johannes Brugman succeeded only once in extricating himself, struggling as he did with the clumsy expressions.

Neither Henry Mande nor any other of the Windesheimers rose above the home-made prose of the period, nor can Netherland writers in French or Walloon make any pretence to the name of artist. Neither Monstrelet nor Chastellain nor Olivier de la Marche, interesting historically as their works are, nor even Comines, stands as high as narrator or as master of style as the fourteenth-century Froissart.

Comines, half foreigner though he was, excels in clearness but takes little trouble in the form of his narrative. "Still," says one of his critics, justly, "the writer so heedless regarding the colour of his style, gains colour in his striving for truth alone." In his story, thrilling on account of the dramatic events that he describes, there are marvellous portraits like that of Louis XI., pearls strung carelessly on the thread of his narrative.

Netherland poets and prose writers of this period are to be found among the learned Latin writers. Those deserving first mention are Thomas à Kempis, with his sober *Imitation of Christ*, which in style and spirit

shows so much similarity with Boethius' famous work, and Agricola, the first champion of a pure Latin style; of whom Melanchthon said: "Rudolph is the first to long to hear and feel an improvement in style." Agricola's great work, *De inventione dialectica*, which opposed another in logic to that of the schoolmen, borrowed much from the ancients, and his letters abound in elegant expressions besides giving a charming impression of his personality. In this respect he surpasses his learned friend and contemporary, Wessel Gansfoort, who was far superior to him as profound thinker, as theologian, though his works are not easy or agreeable reading. Far above the then rectors and co-rectors at the schools of the Brothers of the Common Life, above even the best of them, among whom the Westphalian Alexander Hegius can be reckoned, ranks Johannes Murmellius, born at Roermond, the famous pedagogue at the beginning of the sixteenth century, who raised the banner of humanism at Alkmaar and at Münster.

There were innumerable savants on Netherland territory who were more or less under the influence of the Brothers and the works of Wessel Gansfoort. In nearly every town of importance, learned men were to be found among the rectors and co-rectors of the Latin schools, among the secretaries and pensionaries; men learned not only in the classics but also in history, philosophy, and theology. Rector Listrius at Zwolle, Gosewijn van Halen and Regnerus Prædinius at Groningen, the learned Alardus at Amsterdam, and Hermannus of Bois-le-Duc, who was also active at Amsterdam, Camrivus of Delft, Gnapheus of the Hague, and a host of others can be mentioned as a proof that the Netherland scholars ranked well among the later humanists. Their works have mainly fallen into oblivion, but their success as instructors of the youth is still renowned in tradition. They were the founders of the classic knowledge which

gained a reputation for Netherland scholars in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even in the nineteenth century. Other names from the South deserve mention. The university at Louvain can point to Busleyden of Arlon, to Gennep, Borsalus, Michael Bajus, the opponent of the Jesuits, Varennius of Mechlin, the famous Greek scholar; Ægidius of Antwerp, Thomas More's friend, Paludanus, the friend of Erasmus, Dorpius, closely allied to him — all flourished in the time of the two great regents. At the court of Bishop Philip of Utrecht lived Noviomagus (d. 1542), Geldenhauer of Nimwegen, one of our first critical historians, predecessor to the still more eminent Hadrianus Junius of Hoorn, the historian of "Batavia." And, as in the enumeration of painters and architects, this list of scholars could be increased by twenty or thirty lesser lights.

Far above all, however, is the name of the greatest and most famous Netherlander, Desiderius Erasmus, whose Latin was the delight of his contemporaries, whose Greek studies gave the impulse to a lively interest in the language in West and Middle Europe.

His Latin style bears the stamp of a rich, many-sided spirit, which could have made him first Netherland prose writer had he only used his mother tongue as a vehicle of expression. His *Colloquies* are brilliant in wit, and make one regret that so much talent should have brought so little fruit to the Netherland nation. Still he had a decided influence on the development of the people through the close relation in which he stood to the abovementioned Netherland scholars. He was universally acknowledged as the first humanist of the Netherlands. His foundation at Louvain (1518), the *Collegium Trilingue*, established with the aid of Busleyden and Dorpius, Barlandus and Ceratinus, had great influence on the scientific study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, notwithstanding the opposition of the still flourishing Louvain university.

Among these scholars appears one poet of reputation. Many left Latin verses, but none attained the poetic beauty of some of those of Janus Secundus (1511–1536). This poet, who met an early death, son of a president of the court of Holland, was an artistic personality, who was a skilled engraver and artist, but whose best work lives in his charming *Basia*, love songs full of exquisite feeling, sympathy for nature, and charming humour. These poems of his far excel the best known similar efforts of others, even foreign humanists, certainly the famous Latin drama of Macropedius Gemert and the Latin comedies of Fullonius. They stand far above the satires of Lambertus Hortensius or the eulogies in honour of friends and patrons with which the then literature abounded.

About 1560, Cassander (van Cadzand) was one of the best representatives of the moderate school of theology. He long cherished a hope of levelling the differences between the Protestant and Catholic churches and gave himself infinite trouble to attain that end. He was the last of the Erasmian theologians.

There are famous Netherland names, too, in other realms of science. There were the geographers, Gerard Mercator of Rupelmonde, whose projection (1569) was a valuable aid to navigation; Abraham Ortelius, the Ptolemy of the sixteenth century, the greatest of the newer cartographers, and his coöperator, Vivien of Hainaut, who travelled through the Netherlands with him, and published jointly with him a well-known *Itinerarium;* Jacob of Deventer, who drew the plans of all the Netherland cities at Philip's order ; further, the great astronomer, Gemma Frisius, professor at Leyden about 1550, also famous as instrument-maker; the well-known linguist, theologian, philosopher, and physician, Agrippa van Nettesheim of Cologne, who was court librarian to Margaret of Austria, and was repeatedly harassed by the

Louvain doctors so that the intervention of the regent was necessary to protect him; the botanists, Dodonæus of Mechlin and Clusius of Arras, contemporaries and protégés of Mary of Hungary; the renowned Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, the father of the anatomy perfected by Gallienus, the first of the great physicians whom the Netherlands then possessed, who spread abroad the fame of Netherland surgery. Then, too, there was a worthy phalanx of jurists and statesmen: Viglius, Hopper, Damhoudere, Wielant, Carondelet, the Granvelles, de Scheppere, and a host besides.

These were the best days of the first scientific institution of the Netherlands, the Louvain university attended by not less than five thousand students, about the middle of the century, many of whom were foreigners from Spain and Portugal. But the very epoch when the number of students was the greatest may be reckoned the period of decay. Louvain did not keep up with the times, but was in opposition to the humanist spirit, against modern science in general. Urged by the government at Brussels to erect a dam against the victorious spirit of the reformation, the Louvain theologians maintained that stringent orthodoxy desired by Charles V. and Philip II. in ancient forms and doctrines, an orthodoxy that began to arouse opposition from the learned men in the land. Thus Louvain university in the time of Erasmus was already the bulwark of a rigid orthodoxy, supported by the university of Douay—established at Philip's command in 1513—in the contest against free science which was proclaimed by Marnix van St. Aldegonde.

Still under government protection, official instruction at Louvain remained in the possession of considerable privileges and great influence. The latter endured several years longer, but the flower of Netherland scholarship was in the days of the two regents, both interested in

knowledge and fond of intercourse with savants and men of letters. And this was a period great enough to acquire reputation for the Netherland name not only in art and in classics, but in the wider realm of science.

Thus before the reformation, Netherland art and science flourished, and although the bustle of war which filled the last thirty years of the sixteenth century, turned attention to other things, as soon as the Netherlands had passed through the terrible crisis which brought victory to the North, science, art, and letters blossomed out anew. The thread broken by the war was picked up where it had been dropped in the middle of the century during the desperate struggle. This struggle has thrown a dark shadow over all that the Netherlands can show of beauty and brilliancy to one who tries to study the life of his forefathers.

Among contemporaries, too, there must have been many in 1560 who read the signs of the times and looked forward with forebodings. To a superficial eye all was gold that glittered, but statesmen like Granvelle, Prince William of Orange, like Viglius and Hopper, undoubtedly felt that in this brilliant state there were, not far beneath the surface, elements of discord and dissolution which either had to be respected or vigorously suppressed.

But he who ruled and those whom he permitted to lead him understood nothing of what fermented in the Netherlands. Neither advice to use a strong hand nor a warning to be cautious roused Philip to action before it was too late. Six years later, the fermentation, the sedition, was in full swing, and people began to ask anxiously what the end would be. And that end was not revealed either to their children or children's children.

APPENDIX

HISTORICAL AUTHORITIES

THE history of the Netherlands in the two centuries preceding the great war with Spain is drawn in part from the sources indicated for the latter part of the earlier period. But the lion's share belongs wholly to historical literature. For earlier periods, data of all kinds must be used in order to fill out the scanty written records. For this period the latter exist in great numbers, and there is less need of aid from monuments and antiquities. We may first consider historical literature.

The writers named in Part I. lived in the fourteenth century and brought their chronicles down to their own time. Later in the century the fact is evident that the chroniclers are conscious of the gradual severance of the provinces from the German empire in comparison to the growth of French sympathies. This was very marked in the Burgundian period. The chroniclers—especially those from the South—devote themselves, wholly in accordance with the historical development of Netherland society, chiefly to western history. And where they rise to a general survey, they turn their eyes to France, to the fatherland of the Burgundian family, rather than to the German empire, with which the ties grew weaker as Burgundian power expanded. This is apparent in the Flemish chroniclers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as in the wretched continuations of the rhymed chronicle of Jean de Clerc and kindred works,[1] as in the *Annals of St. Bavo* at

[1] *Cf.* for example the *Rijmkronick van Vlanderen*, by De Smet, *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriæ*, iv., pp. 587 *et seq.* This runs to 1405.

Ghent, which come down to about 1350, or in the remarkable compilation entitled *Chronicon comitum Flandrensium*, which consists of a stringing together of a mass of very heterogeneous and uneven documents of the reign of Philip the Good,[1] the most important for the second half of the fourteenth century. This same characteristic is still more evident in the *Istore et chroniques de Flandres*.[2] This is strongly French. Including supplements, it comes down to the death of the duke of Orleans in 1408, but it is really unimportant for Netherland history.

The activity in the Cistercian convent, Dunes, was very remarkable. Here the Abbot Jean Brandon compiled his *Chronodromon*, an extensive work coming down to 1414, which was continued by the former Parisian professor, Ægidius de Roya, in his *Annales Belgici*, which again was continued for the period 1431–1488 by the pupil of the latter, Adrien de Budt. These three works give a very good insight into French-Burgundian conditions as a result of the personal relations of the authors with the French court and the French capital. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century the abbot of St. Martin's at Tournay, Gilles Li Muisis, wrote his important *Chronicon Majus*, which gives an excellent description of the battle of Crécy, but is worth little for the history of the Netherland provinces, quite as little as his *Chronicon Minus* and the work of his successor, Muevin. At Ypres, in the first half of the fifteenth century, Oliver and John of Dixmude were busied at histories in the vernacular,[3] the groundwork of the *Excellente Cronike van Vlaanderen*, which runs to 1486 and was collected and edited by Andries de Smet of Bruges about 1530.

Mediæval Flemish historical writing is well represented by the works of Jacob de Meyer of Vleteren, near Bailleul (1491–1552), who studied in Paris and was schoolmaster at Bruges and pastor at Blankenbergh. He published a number of volumes on Flemish history based on earlier histories and

[1] De Smet, *Corpus*, i., pp. 34–261.

[2] Edited by Kervijn de Lettenhove in the *Collection de chroniques Belges*, vols. i. and ii.

[3] De Smet, *Corpus*, iii., pp. 31 *et seq.*

extensive investigations of archives. His chief work is *Rerum Flandricarum Annales*, which was brought down to 1477 and published after his death.[1] It is a careful critical digest of what his predecessors had collected. The annalist form makes the composition somewhat arid, which is occasionally relieved by a vigorously expressed anti-French sentiment.

A marked French-Burgundian colour stamps the beforementioned[2] Latin Brabantine chronicle of Edward de Dynter, especially valuable for the period 1406–1440, when he was at the Burgundian court and took part in the most important affairs as secretary of three successive dukes. He wrote at the behest of Duke Philip and with permission to use the Burgundian archives, and his work is of little value in respect to certain events, as, for example, the history of Jacqueline. Its chief worth lies in the numerous documents of this period which the author had printed in the original, under his own supervision and in part incorporated into his work. Less important is the Brabantine-Flemish *Chronycke van Nederland*,[3] a lifeless compilation, almost unreadable, like most works of the kind.

Much higher as literature is the famous *Chroniques de France, d' Angleterre, d' Écosse, d' Espagne, de Flandres*, by the well-known Hainauter, Jean Froissart of Valenciennes.[4] This is a great history of West Europe, especially remarkable both from the interest of its matter, which he brought together with much trouble but without much discrimination by aid of eye-witnesses and of actual participants in the events described, and from its attractive style, which has won him the name of the Herodotus of the fourteenth century. The great narrator lived for years at the courts of Philippa of Hainaut, queen of England, of King John of France, of Wenzel of Brabant, of Albert of Holland, of Robert of Namur, and of other princes and gentlemen, and amused himself evidently with the stories of the

[1] Antwerp, 1561.

[2] See Part I., p. 350.

[3] Ed. Piot in the *Collection de Chroniques Belges*.

[4] Ed. Buchon, 3 vols. (Paris, 1835–1836), and Kervijn de Lettenhove, 26 vols. (Brussels, 1867–1877). The best edition by Siméon Luce (Paris, 1869).

deeds of princes and cavaliers of his time whom he knew personally. His work runs from 1325–1400, and is of great importance for the English-French war at the time and for knowledge of the then world of chivalry which Froissart so admired and described with so much real affection. He ranks far higher than those who continued the book of the Liegeois Hocsem.[1] Nearer to Froissart stands Jacques de Hemricourt, a member of the Liege municipal government at the end of the fourteenth century, and whose *Miroir des Nobles* and *Werre d'Awans et de Waroux* glorify all chivalry like the chronicles of Froissart.[2] The chronicles of the Liegeois Jean Le Bel (1326–1361)[3] and Jean des Preis of Outremeuse (–1390), continued by Jean de Stavelot[4] to the middle of the fifteenth century, are specially in relation to Liege history,—being written in the Walloon vernacular,—but also contain important information about the English-Burgundian complications. Much more valuable than these last for the knowledge of the rise of Burgundian sovereignty is the very interesting *Chronique* of Enguerrand de Monstrelet[5] (for 1400–1444), who continued Froissart, displaying much less ability but more critical faculty.

He lived at Cambrai, and was for a time commandant of the city. He was able to use many state documents and letters of distinguished persons in his work. His work was in turn continued by Jacques du Clercq to 1467, where Philip de Comines begins. For the same period is the *Chronique des ducs de Bourgogne*,[6] by Georges Chastellain, who lived at the court of Philip the Good and also wrote the life of the Burgundian knight without fear or reproach, Jacques de Lalaing. He is very valuable for a knowledge of Burgundian court life, as is also the case with Olivier de la Marche, whose

[1] Compare Part I., p. 351. His own volume was finished (1348–86) by Radulphus de Rivo.

[2] Ed. Salbray (Brussels, 1673) and Jalhean (Liege, 1791).

[3] Ed. Polain, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1863).

[4] Ed. Borgnet and Bormans, 7 vols. (Brussels, 1864–1887).

[5] Ed. Donet d'Arcq., 6 vols. (Paris, 1857–1862).

[6] Ed. Kervijn de Lettenhove, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1863–1866).

Mémoires[1] give valuable details about the courts of Charles the Bold and Philip the Fair and the manner of life there. Chastellain and de la Marche both filled important places at the Burgundian courts, the former as member of the ducal council of Philip the Good, the latter as court master and captain of the bodyguard of Charles the Bold, later as courtier and diplomate of Philip the Fair.

But none of these works reached the heights of Philip de Comines, born 1445 in the town of his name. He was in the service of Charles the Bold from 1464 to 1472. Later he served Louis XI. as councillor. Considering his remarkable knowledge of statecraft, he may be called the Netherland Thucydides, although his style falls far short of that of the mighty Greek. He was involved in the most important governmental acts both of Charles and of Louis XI. Under Charles VIII. he met his downfall through treachery, and was imprisoned on a charge of high treason. After an imprisonment of more than two years the eminent statesman was liberated. In 1509 he died at Argenton. His *Mémoires*[2] (1464–1498) give evidence of a cool, rather cynical spirit, perfectly at home with the statecraft of Louis XI., somewhat similar to Macchiavelli in political insight. His work is invaluable for a knowledge of the then rising West European diplomacy. His comprehensive view embraces the whole policy of the time which he was the first to view as a science.

Covering the same period (1476–1506) are the *Chroniques* of the learned and poetic librarian of the regent Margaret of Austria, Jean Molinet,[3] who considers the policy of the time from the Burgundian point of view, and thus sometimes comes into direct contrast with Comines, whom, however, he does not equal in clear-sightedness.

As the last of the Burgundian historiographers, Pontus Heuterus of Delft should be mentioned. He lived from 1535 to 1602, was a victim of the tyranny of Lumey at the Brill in 1572, and later a faithful priest of the Roman Catholic Church.

[1] Ed. Beaune et d'Arbaumart, 3 vols. (Paris, 1840–1847).
[2] Ed. Dupont, 3 vols. (Paris, 1840–1847).
[3] Ed. Buchon, 4 vols. (Paris, 1827–1828).

In his work, *Rerum burgundicarum libri VI.*, Antverpiae, 1584, he describes the history of the early Burgundian period, availing himself of many books and manuscripts in the convents and cities of the South Netherlands. This work goes to the death of Charles the Bold, and was continued by him to 1564 in a second work, *Rerum belgicarum libri VI.* The latter is less important than the first, while both do little more than describe the wars in good Latin.

For the wars at the beginning of the sixteenth century the best account is given by the field-marshal Robert de la Mark, Sire de Fleuranges, whose *Mémoires* (1490–1537) give much about the French-Netherlands campaigns.[1] A picture of the soldier's life of the period is given in the *Mémoires*[2] of Féry de Guyon (1524–1568), an eye-witness.

Thus in the Burgundian period the conventual records give way to the writings of statesmen, officials, and courtiers. It is no longer the clergy, to whom even Froissart belonged, but chiefly laymen who took hold of history, not even universally scholars, but officers and diplomates and an occasional clerical.

In the north of the Netherlands convent history-writing was maintained longer than in the south, although the foremost North Netherland historical work, that of Beka,[3] did not originate in a convent nor are the numerous continuations in both Latin and the vernacular (a French version, also, was prepared for Philip the Good, several manuscripts of which have been preserved) proofs of this. The continuations run usually to 1393, some to 1456, or even to 1483, and are very unequal in value and quality.[4]

The chronicle of Heda[5] is in close connection with the great Utrecht chronicle. This orginated in the court of Philip of Burgundy in the same circle whence came the little work of the Utrecht monk Henricus Bomelius — the *Bellum Trajec-*

[1] Buchon, *Collection des Chroniques françaises*, v., ix.

[2] Ed. Robaulx de Soumoy (Brussels, 1858).

[3] Compare Part I., pp. 344–352.

[4] Muller List, pp. 36 *et seq.*

[5] Published by De Geer in the works of *Hist. Genootschap* of Utrecht, No. 28.

tinum[1] (1525–1528). Basin, too, vicar of Bishop David, wrote a Latin history of France, wherein he gives much data for events in the provinces from 1481–1483, especially about the siege of Utrecht at that period. For later Utrecht history there should be mentioned Lambertus Hortensius' *Secessiones civilis ultrajectinæ et bellum* (1524–1529),[2] besides a very remarkable writing of Herberen of Minden, member of the Utrecht knighthood, about 1540, who recorded his recollections of the events which he had lived through (1529–1552).[3]

The work of the learned Geldenhauer, *Vita Philippi a Burgundia episcopi ultrajectensis*,[4] is important for a knowledge of Utrecht history in the beginning of the sixteenth century, but must be taken with caution, as it bears a very panegyric character.

For the history of Holland in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries we have in addition to Beka's chronicle with the sequels, first the *Out-Goutsch Chronycxken*, so called from the place of publication. This dry compilation (863–1437, with sequels to 1477),[5] is by an unknown author from the time of Jacqueline of Bavaria. Of the same nature are the arid chronicles printed by the Utrecht printer Veldenaer in 1480, after his translation of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, reprinted by Werner Rolevinck. Rolevinck was a well-known Westphalian Carthusian of Cologne, whose universal history, first printed at Cologne in 1474, entirely replaced the old *Chronica Martiniana* as a text-book, but is little better. After the compilation work which he translated, or had translated,[6] Veldenaer extracted short chronicles of various Netherland and neighbouring provinces from existing writings, especially those of the large edition of Beka. Those of Utrecht and Holland were translated into Latin later under the names

[1] *Matth. Anal.*, i., pp. 505–586.

[2] After the Beka of Buchelius, 1643.

[3] Published by Müller in the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Hist. Gen.*, v., xi. (1888), pp. i. *et seq.*

[4] *Matth. Anal.*, i., pp. 145–229.

[5] The first published at Gouda by Ger. Leeuw (1478), the best by Scriverius, Amsterdam, 1663.

[6] Published at Utrecht, 1480.

of *Chronica de Trajecto* and *de Hollandia*, and are little more than literal passages from Beka.[1]

The *Chronicon Hollandiae*, by the Haarlem Carmelite, Jan Gerbrandsz. of Leyden, ranks much higher. This is learned, although more or less embellished with fables. Gerbrandsz. wrote it about 1480, very carefully, and displaying great knowledge of affairs and of genealogy, but little critical spirit. It was first only a short volume, later expanded into an extensive chronicle.[2] He also worked the Egmont archives into a *Chronicon Egmundanum* (brought down to 1524), and those of the Brederode family into a similar chronicle (to 1486). His contemporary, Theodoricus Pauli of Gorinchem, wrote, besides his *Chronicon Universale*, an uncritical compilation of about 1486, family histories of the Arkels, Brederodes, and Borselens,[3] perhaps, too, of the Egmonts of the same period.

Making use of the chronicle of Jan Gerbrandsz. and of other existing histories, a Leyden monk from the convent Lopsen put together for the Leyden printer, Jan Seversen, a chronicle of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland,[4] which was printed in 1517. This is usually called the *Divisiekroniek* from its division into a number of parts. The chronicle of Jan Gerbrandsz. was the chief source. This *Divisiekroniek* was the usual reading-book in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, indeed, as late as Wagenaar's time, for the ancient history of the countship of Holland, and may be reckoned as the keystone of Middle Dutch historiography.

The work of the Gouda physician, Reinier Snoy, *De rebus Batavicis libri XIII.*,[5] whose author was praised by Erasmus as *alterum literarum Hollandicarum decus*, but severely judged by the first critical historians of the seventeenth century. He is also handled harshly by Jan Gerbrandsz.

Among the still unpublished Holland chronicles, the most

[1] Bolhuis van Zeeburgh in Nijhoff's *Bijdragen*, N. R., viii., p. 349.

[2] The last published by Sweertius in his *Rerum Belgicarum Annales* (Antwerp, 1620). Compare Bolhius van Zeeburgh, p. 355.

[3] Compare Foeke's Theodoricus Pauli (Halle, 1892).

[4] Reprinted several times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[5] Ed. Swertius, ii., pp. 1–195.

important are, first, those of "*den Heraut*,"[1] and those of Jan Naaldwijk (to 1514), possibly a clergyman from the time of Erasmus.[2] Two older versions exist of his work besides a third compiled with the aid of the *Divisiekroniek*. Second, the chronicle of Frederick of Sevender, a Haarlem Carmelite, whose *Chronicon Hollandiae* (to 1467) is of much less value than that of his contemporary, Jan Gerbrandsz, who wrote in the same convent, or that of the Frisian monk, Henricus Gouda, from Thabor, near Sneek, mainly taken from the *Divisiekroniek*. Another work in Latin by Erasmus' friend, Willem Hermansz of Gouda, from the convent Steyn, one of the sources of the *Divisiekroniek*,[3] and probably of great interest, has not yet been found.

For Zealand we possess from this time a single ancient Zealand chronicle of importance, that of Jan Reygersberch of Cortgene, who lived at Veere in the middle of the sixteenth century in the retinue of Maximilian of Burgundy. He used the archives of the family of Borselen, which had been saved from the fire of 1507. Especially for a knowledge of Zealand from 1450–1550 is his *Cronycke van Zeelandt*[4] of interest.

The Frisian historiography of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is also remarkable. There were continuations written to all the existing chronicles. The old convent records of Mariëngaarde and Aduard were continued. From Oldekloster there is a chronicle of the end of the sixteenth century; from Klaarkamp there is an epitome from the fifteenth century, and again as late as the end of the sixteenth century a learned monk of Lidlum compiled a convent history with the aid of the convent archives.

Under pressure of the dangers which menaced Frisian liberty, there grew up in Friesland, about 1470, a mass of historical writing full of the old tales and legends about Friesland's past, culled mainly from the older Frisian convent chronicles,[5]

[1] See Part I., p. 355,

[2] See Muller in Nijhoff's *Bijdragen*, 3rd Series, iv., pp. 392 *et seq.*

[3] Muller, p. 397. His description of the Guelders war after 1507 is well known. *Matth. Anal.*, i., pp. 497 *et seq.*

[4] Published at Antwerp, 1551. Later repeatedly at Middelburg.

[5] Compare Part I., p. 343.

especially those of Klaarkamp. To these narratives,[1] which evince little critical spirit but much patriotism, belong *Die olde freesche Cronike;* the *Gesta Frisiorum*, with its Frisian translation, the *Gesta Fresonum;* the *Freska Rijm* with its Latin version, *Magistri Alvini Tractatus;* and the narrative *Hoe dae Fresen toe fridum komen.*[2]

More interesting and more critical than the above is the *Chronicorum Frisiae libri III.* (to 1399), by Worp Tjaarda of Rinsumageest, prior in the convent Thabor about 1530, a compilation excellently well done for the time, continued in a very interesting sequel in two books [3] (to 1523), the chief work about the Frisian conditions, *c.* 1500, described by the fairly unpartisan author as an eye-witness.

Important, too, is the *Annael* -or *Landboek* of Kempo van Martena, a Burgundian partisan much involved in Frisian affairs. In 1523 he was charged by the Frisian Estates to draw up an official account of the Frisian troubles from the arrival of Albert the Saxon [4] (1498–1530). The book of Paulus Rodolphi van Rixtel, *Proeliarius* [5] (1494–1517), especially interesting for the events in the neighbourhood of Stavoren. The volume of the Guelders-sympathising Janko Douwama, the *Boeck der Partyen*,[6] is simply an apology for his position in the Frisian quarrels. The *Historie van Vriesland* (to 1527), by Petrus Thaborita,[7] is also valuable. The author was a monk of Thabor and an eye-witness of the events in the neighbourhood of Sneek.

For Groningen and Groningerland there is the chronicle of the Groningen brewer and councillor, Sicke Benninghe, who

[1] Published by the Frisian *Genootschap* (Workum, 1853). Compare Bolhuis van Zeeburgh, *Kritiek der friesche geschiedschrijving* (Haarlem, 1873).

[2] Published by De Haan Heltema in *Vrije Fries.*, i., pp. 263–276.

[3] Published by Ottema in the works of the Frisian *Genootschap* (Leeuw, 1850–1871).

[4] Swartzenberg, *Charterboek* (Leeuw, 1773), ii., pp. 1–205.

[5] In defective Holland translation by Ottema (Leeuw, 1855).

[6] Published by the Frisian *Genootschap* (Leeuw, 1849).

[7] Published in the *Archief voor vaderl. geschied* (Leeuw, 1824–1828), i., pp. 1 *et seq.*

felt called to relate the history of his native city (to 1528), and made use of the work of his older fellow citizen, Johannes de Lemmege, whom he copied in great part. For the period from 1500 to 1528, when he was in the Groningen government, his data are very valuable.[1] Dry chronological works were written at this time in Groningen by Sybe Jarichs and Tjalling Aykema, the latter devoted to details of the history of the Ommelands in his time (1533–1552).

For Overyssel we possess the Kamper chronicle[2] of Arend toe Boecop (*c.* 1573), a journal for the last period, besides a number of chronicles from the Windesheim convents and fraternity houses. Among these that of Gerardus Coccius from Bethlehem at Zwolle, if it only were not defective for the last part, would be very valuable. Further, there are the work of Joh. Busch, *De origine cœnobii et capituli seu congregationis Windesemensis*,[3] that of Thomas à Kempis, *Chronicon Montis S. Agnetis*[4] (1385–1471), etc.

Guelders history in these centuries is based mainly on the *Chronicon Tielense*, that of the non-Guelders territory on Beka, and is especially important for the region of Tiel, where the work originated. The original came down to 1449, and was continued to 1566.[5] The chief source for ancient Guelders history is the writing of Wilhelmus de Berchem,[6] *De nobili principatu Gelrie et ejus origine.* He was canon at Nimwegen about 1470, for which only his chronicle (to 1466) is of importance. It was later continued by various persons to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Short and dry is the *Compendium chronici Geldrici* of Hendrik Arentsz, an Arnhemer from the middle of the sixteenth century. Remarkable, too, is the family chronicle of Kuilenburg, the *Origines Culemburgicae* (1015–1494) from the end of the fifteenth century, possibly

[1] First and second parts published by J. A. Feith in the *Werken van de Historische Genootschap.*

[2] Published in the Cod. Dipl. of the *Hist. Genootschap*, ii.

[3] Published by Rosweyde (Antw., 1621).

[4] Rosweyde (Antwerp, 1615).

[5] Van Leewen (Utrecht, 1789).

[6] Sloet van de Beele (Hagae Comit, 1870).

compiled by a member of the family from the archives of the family and the city.[1]

An unknown writer delved into the best of the above-mentioned writings of the various provinces, and compiled one of the most remarkable histories from the end of the century, the Chronicon Belgicum Magnum, or *Florarum Temporum*, a great compilation of high value, attributed, perhaps correctly, to the famous Benedictine, Johannes Trithemius.[2] The printed Chronicons[3] is evidently taken from the greater *Florarum Temporum*, chiefly important for the second half of the fifteenth century, and was perhaps written by the city secretary, Wierstraat, in connection with the description of the siege of Neuss. The author had an excellent knowledge of the historiography of the Netherland provinces at his time, and shows a remarkable critical power which makes him the first representative of modern critical history on the Lower Rhine.

DIPLOMATA AND ACCOUNTS

The documents from the later Middle Ages are always very important historical sources; still, the mass of these papers, steadily increasing as we come down into the sixteenth century, and their increasing scope, render their use very difficult. The many inventories of provincial and municipal archives[4] give an idea of the rich treasure still to be found in city and country, and embrace thousands and thousands of charters. With the fifteenth century the charters of the Netherland cities were carefully preserved.

From the collections which have been published must be mentioned the numerous *Cartularia* of the Flemish convents, the very incomplete and uncritical *Groot Placcaat-en Charterboek van Vriesland*,[5] by Schwartzenberg; the better composed

[1] *Matth. Anal.*, iii., p. 589–656.

[2] Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1887), ii., 47.

[3] Pistorius, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicorum*, iii., 1–456.

[4] Pirenne, *Bibliographie de l' histoire de Belgique* (Ghent, 1893), pp. 17 *et seq.*

[5] 5 vols. Leeuwarden, 1768 *et seq.*

Monumenta Groningana (to 1400) by Driessen[1]; the admirable *Gedenkwaardigheden uit de Geschiedenis van Gelderland*,[2] van Is. Nijhoff; the continuation of Bondam's *Charterboek;* the fragmentary *Oyerijselsche Gedenkstukken*,[3] by Racer; the incomplete collection of *Magnum Geschiedkundig overzicht van de besturen in Drente;*[4] De Fremery's excellent *Cartularium van het geldersche klooster Marienweerd*[5]; Van Mieris's uncritical *Groot Charterboek der Graven van Holland*,[6] which together with Muller's *Regesta Hannonensia*[7] and Van Limburg Brouwer's *Boergoensche*[8] charters show what is still to be done for Holland and Zealand; the *Codex Diplomaticus Neerlandicus*[9] of the Historical Society at Utrecht, especially important for Holland and the Sticht; for the Sticht there are also Dodt van Flensburg and Royaards's *Archief voor kerkelyke en weredljike geschiedenis*[10]; the very complete *Cartularia* of the Liege and Luxemburg churches, convents, and little cities; the archives of the chapter of Thorn, published by Habets[11]; the *Bullarium Trajectense* of Brom[12]; the *Hansische Urkundenbuch* of Höhlbaum. For political history as well as for social conditions, the regulation of the government, etc., there is much to be extracted from these documents, which are also valuable for the geography and topography of the provinces and for the genealogy of princely and noble families.

The accounts, too, are of great value for a knowledge of social conditions, and gradually attention has been given to them. We possess rich treasures in this regard, as may be seen from the very important extracts from the accounts of the Burgundian Chambre des Comptes at Lisle, from the Ghent accounts of the time of the Arteveldes,[13] from Hamaker's invalid reckonings of the countships of Holland and Zealand

[1] 4 vols. Groningen, 1822–30.
[2] 6 vols. Arnhem, 1875.
[3] 7 vols. Deventer, 1781–1793.
[4] 3 vols. Groningen, 1838–1850.
[5] 's Gravenhage, 1890.
[6] 4 vols. Leyden, 1753–1756.
[7] 'sGravenhage, 1882.
[8] 's Gravenhage, 1869.
[9] 6 vols. Utrecht.
[10] 7 vols. Utrecht, 1838–1848.
[11] 's Gravenhage, 1892 *et seq.*
[12] Hagae Com., 1891 *et seq.*
[13] Published by De Pauw & Vuylsteke (Ghent, 1874–1885, 3 vols.), and Vuylsteke (Ghent, 1890).

under the house of Hainaut,[1] from Muller's registers and accounts of the bishopric Utrecht[2] (1325–1339), from Van Doorminck's *Cameraars-rekeningen* of Deventer[3] (1337–1392), from Nanninga Uitterdyk's *Kameraars-en rent meesters rekeningen* of Kampen (1515–1540),[4] from Dozy's extracts from the municipal accounts of Dordrecht in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[5] from De Lange[6] of Wijngaerden's extracts from those of Blois. It is a pity that many cities lost their accounts as a result of the burning of the stadthouses, so that very little remains intact from the fourteenth century. There are a few more from the fifteenth century, while most cities have preserved those from the sixteenth century down. The provincial accounts are in better condition, especially in Holland and Zealand, where they are almost complete from the middle of the fourteenth century; while the fourteenth-century financial records of Guelders and the Sticht are very fragmentary. For Friesland and Groningen before the Burgundian epoch there is nothing.

With the aid of municipal and state accounts it is possible to collect a mass of statistical data which is very important for a knowledge of social relations of the time. Of the same nature are the registers which have been preserved to us of the *Enqueste* of 1494 and the *Informacie* of 1514 in the countship Holland on the occasion of the disposition of the taxes. We have, too, the *Register van den Aanbreng* for Friesland in 1511. Statistical data are also furnished to us by foreigners' descriptions of their travels in the Netherlands, like Guicciardini, whose *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*[7] was repeatedly published in Italian, French, Latin, German, and Dutch. It is an admirable source for the knowledge of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. Less important are the travels of Calvete

[1] 5 vols. Utrecht, 1775–1870.

[2] 2 vols. 's Gravenhage, 1889–1891.

[3] 3 vols. Deventer, 1883–1886.

[4] Kampen, 1875.

[5] Compare Part I., p. 380.

[6] In his *Geschiedenis der Heeren*, etc., of Gouda, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1813–1817).

[7] Oldest edition, Antwerp, 1567.

d'Estrella, who visited the province with Philip II. in 1549.[1] Very important in this regard are the *Relationi* of the Venetian ambassadors, especially those of Badovaro and Cavallo.[2] The last are especially important for Netherland trade, about which, too, the English agent at Antwerp, Sir Thomas Gresham,[3] relates much in his letters.

LETTERS

A valuable historic source are the letters of historical personages. These are still exceptional in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There are some of Geert de Groote,[4] a few of Duke John of Bavaria,[5] those of Agricola.[6] In the sixteenth century such collections became more important and complete. We have masses of letters from Maximilian I., Charles V., and Philip II., from Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary, Granvelle and other distinguished state officials, from Erasmus and many of his contemporaries, savants and statesmen. For the first time we have an opportunity of gaining an insight into the soul-life of our historical *dramatis personæ*, or to explain their actions in relation to their personality, an historical investigation that is lacking for earlier periods from lack of data.

For the earlier periods we must usually content ourselves with a critical collection of information from others, often from a couple of informers only. Biography takes a great flight in the sixteenth century. Personal information comes from all sides. The letters of the chief personages themselves give splendid material for a closer exposition of personal motives. For the first time biography proper becomes possible.

[1] *El felicissimo viaje*, etc., Anvers, 1552.

[2] Badovaro's report of 1557, published by Marchal (Brussels, 1845); Cavallo's of 1550 in the collection *Relationi degli ambasciatori Veneti*, 15 vols. (Firenze, 1839–1863).

[3] Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, 2 vols. (London, 1839).

[4] Compare Acquoy, *Gerardi Magni Epistolæ*, xiv. (London, 1839).

[5] See Blok's *Holl. Stad. in de Middeleeuwen.*

[6] Compare Hartfelder, *Unedierte Briefe von Rud. Agricola*, in Festschrift der Bad. Gymnasien (Karlsruhe, 1886).

STATE PAPERS AND LAWS

The mass of official documents which have been preserved since the fifteenth century also increased hand over hand. In official registers of province and city the most important documents were entered either in the originals or in copies. Provincial and municipal archives became important depôts which people began to take care of. Certain officials, although not yet formally appointed for the purpose, were intrusted with the management of the archives, which they tried to protect as far as possible against the danger of fire, sometimes even going so far as to erect what they considered fireproof places. The colleges kept their archives secret, so that the people should not have too much knowledge of the principles and results of the administration of city and land. By exception only, usually with the aim of winning eulogium thereby, was permission given to search the archives and publish the results of investigations.

This care had the one good result for us that, since the sixteenth century especially, a number of state documents have come down to us. Archives such as those of the Saxon princes in Friesland, still piously preserved at Dresden in memory of the great care with which Duke George collected it[1]; like those of the Brussels government after 1531,[2] now at Brussels in the royal archives; like those of many cities in South and North, where as a rule the documents in any numbers begin with the fifteenth century; like those of the Sticht and of Guelders after the fifteenth, of Friesland and Groningen after the sixteenth century—all furnish much material for a knowledge of the government and of popular life in earlier times.

The municipal statute-books dated as a rule from the middle of the fifteenth century for the North, with increasing completeness giving a view of the municipal statute-giving and illustrating municipal life[3]; guild letters of the fourteenth and

[1] Compare Blok's *Archivalia*, 1886, pp. 10 *et seq.*, and *Berns*, *Verslag*, 1891.

[2] See Blok's article in the *Nederl. Archievenblad*, 1893, No. 1.

[3] Compare the works of the *Vereeniging* for the publication of the sources of ancient law.

fifteenth centuries existing in large quantities in our city archives and partially published; the many statutes of our water districts after the thirteenth century, whose ancient archives are for the most part lost; the codified law of our provinces and districts, repeatedly revised in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and made to coincide with new legal ideas[1]—are all of value for the knowledge of ancient life.[2]

MONUMENTS AND ANTIQUITIES

Monuments in wood and stone are very numerous in this period, and bear witness to-day to the increasing prosperity and increasing artistic sense of our ancestors. Numerous, too, are the antiquities having relation to the church and house life of these centuries which are preserved in our great and little provincial and historical museums. More numerous still are the coins, mainly disinterred, of province and city, and by skilful work or individuality interesting in the coinage for historical or genealogical investigation. About 1500, medals struck to commemorate especial events begin to come to the fore. The inscriptions on monuments, although less important than for the days when they shed great light on slightly known times, still have not lost all significance.

With all these aids we are even able to reconstruct rooms as they existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially with the aid of data furnished by the miniature paintings, the prints of the fifteenth century, and the etchings of the sixteenth with their scenes of life. Certain inventories and wills are also valuable, and these have not yet been thoroughly exploited.

LITERARY MONUMENTS

With the rapid development of Netherland literature, which bore steadily a more original character, it begins to acquire significance for the knowledge of Netherland social life in general.

Religious literature of the fifteenth century, polemics for and

[1] See p. 413.

[2] See Part I., p. 362.

against the old teachings in the time of the Reformation, give us a closer picture of our ancestors; the rhetoricians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with their performances, the historic song, the spiritual and lay folk-song in general, all help us to take a peep into public and private life of these times. For instance, the Colloquies of Erasmus deserve an important place among these writings.

Earlier we had to contend with the difficulty of separating translations from national matter; in the sixteenth century, with the growth of a national literature, this danger no longer exists. Letters became the mirror of the popular thought of a people who read increasingly, and showed what a vigorous national life had sprung up in the days of the Burgundian government.

THE NETHERLANDS
AND REGIONS ADJACENT—
C. 1550
TERRITORY UNDER RULE OF HOUSE OF BURGUNDY IN THE 14TH, 15TH & 16TH CENTURIES
FRONTIERS OF FRANCE & GERMAN EMPIRE
North Sea
Zuyder Zee
NORWICH
YARMOUTH
IPSWICH
CANTERBURY
DOVER
CALAIS
BOULOGNE
DUNKIRK
OSTEND
BRUGES
GRAVELINES
DIXMUDE
CASSEL
YPRES
ST. OMER
COMINES
LILLE
TOURNAY
DOUAY
AGINCOURT
CRECY
ABBEVILLE
PONTHIEU
EU
AMIENS
MONTDIDIER
VERMANDOIS
NOYON
ROUEN
COMPIÈGNE
SOISSONS
SENLIS
RHEIMS
PARIS
R. SEINE
ILE DE FRANCE
CHALONS
MONTEREAU
CHAMPAGNE
TROYES
BAR S. SEINE
ORLEANS
CHÂTILLON
NEVERS
BURGUNDY
DIJON
CHALON
CHAROLLES
MACON
BESANÇON
DÔLE
COMTÉ
VESOUL
FRANCHE
BELFORT
SUNDGAU
BASEL
PONTARLIER
NEUCHATEL
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GRANSON
LONS LE SAULNIER
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BREISACH
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COLMAR
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VOSGES
STRASBURG
HAGENAU
METZ
PONT A MOUSSON
TOUL
NANCY
JOINVILLE
BAR
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VERDUN
LUXEMBURG
BOUILLON
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CHIMAY
ARLON
DIEDENHOFEN
PALATINATE
TREVES
VIANDEN
ECHTERNACH
MONTMEDY
ST. HUBERT
DINANT
PHILIPPEVILLE
MARIENBURG
GIVET
CHARLEMONT
CAMBRAI
VALENCIENNES
MONS
NIVELLES
NAMUR
HUY
LIEGE
MAESTRICHT
AIX LA CHAPELLE
DUREN
BONN
COBLENTZ
NASSAU
DILLENBURG
ST. TROND
LOUVAIN
BRUSSELS
MECHLIN
LIERRE
ANTWERP
THORN
ROERMOND
VENLOO
NEUSS
ELBERFELD
DORTMUND
CLEVES
MARK
BERG
WESEL
ARNHEM
BREDEVOORT
MUNSTER
LINGEN
STEINFURT
MEPPEN
OSNABRÜCK
OLDENBURG
EAST FRIESLAND
EMDEN
NORDEN
JEVER
AURICH
LEER
DOLLART
DAM
DOKKUM
LEEUWARDEN
HARLINGEN
GRONINGEN
SNEEK
BOLSWARD
STAVOREN
ASSEN
OMMELANDS
DRENTHE
COEVORDEN
ZWOLLE
HASSELT
KAMPEN
STEENWYK
ENKHUIZEN
EGMONT
ALKMAAR
HOORN
MEDEMBLIK
AMSTERDAM
HAARLEM
LEYDEN
THE HAGUE
DELFT
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ROTTERDAM
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ELBURG
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TIEL
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BOIS LE DUC
CERNEY
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ZUTPHEN
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ARTOIS
HAINAUT
NAMUR
LIMBURG
LUXEMBURG
BOULOGNE
EU
AMIENS
VERMANDOIS
CAMBRAI
BAR
LORRAINE
METZ
VERDUN
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PALATINATE
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C. 1550

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